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Committee on Un-American Activities  
House  
86th Congress

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US Doc 2,791

**WESTERN SECTION OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA  
DISTRICT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

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**HEARINGS**  
BEFORE THE  
**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**  
**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**  
EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

---

OCTOBER 20, 1959

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**PART 1**

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania, *Chairman*

MORGAN M. MOULDER, Missouri

CLYDE DOYLE, California

EDWIN E. WILLIS, Louisiana

WILLIAM M. TUCK, Virginia

DONALD L. JACKSON, California

GORDON H. SCHERER, Ohio

WILLIAM E. MILLER, New York

AUGUST E. JOHANSEN, Michigan

RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director*

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## SYNOPSIS

Hearings regarding Communist Party activities in southern California, with special reference to the structure and objectives of the Western Section of the Southern California District of the Communist Party, were held in Los Angeles, Calif., on October 20, 21 and 22, 1959. The Western Section of the Southern California District of the Communist Party roughly covers the western portion of Los Angeles County—a large geographical area which extends as far south as Redondo Beach, as far north as Malibu Beach, and includes the area known as West Los Angeles, as well as part of Beverly Hills.

In the course of the hearings the committee obtained a wealth of information on contemporary Communist tactics. Particularly valuable testimony was presented by Mrs. Moisselle J. Clinger, Mrs. Marion Miller, and Mrs. Adele Kronick Silva, all of whom had served as undercover operatives for the Federal Bureau of Investigation within Communist Party units in western Los Angeles County. Mrs. Clinger, of Santa Monica, had served in the Communist Party from 1942 until 1956; Mrs. Miller, of West Los Angeles, was in party activities from 1952 until late 1955; while Mrs. Silva, now living in Oakland, had worked with Communists in West Los Angeles in 1950. The committee also heard testimony on recent internal problems of the Communist Party from Harper Poulson, of Los Angeles, who left the party in January 1957 in disagreement with certain of its policies. Mr. Poulson invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment against self-incrimination, however, when questioned regarding other individuals active in the Communist conspiracy.

Startling illustrations of Communist efforts to enter and influence non-Communist organizations and institutions were presented in the course of the hearings, which also included testimony on the mechanics by which Communists have set up their own "front" organizations to lure support from non-Communist Californians. The testimony furthermore revealed various tactics by which the party protected its conspirators from possible legal consequences of membership. A multitude of Communist techniques for raising funds for the party's work were also described in striking detail.

These tactics and techniques were revealed not only by those witnesses who testified fully, but were disclosed by indirection from the fragmentary testimony elicited from the some two dozen witnesses the committee had subpoenaed for the hearings who are currently, or were recently, engaged in Communist activities in the Western Section of the Southern California District of the Communist Party.



# WESTERN SECTION OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

## Part 1

---

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m., in Courtroom No. 1, United States Post Office and Federal Building, Los Angeles, Calif., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Hon. Morgan M. Moulder, of Missouri, and Hon. Donald L. Jackson, of California.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel, and William A. Wheeler, investigator.

Mr. MOULDER. The subcommittee will come to order.

At a duly constituted meeting of the Committee on Un-American Activities it was unanimously agreed that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Los Angeles, Calif., or at such other places as the chairman may determine, including the conduct of investigations deemed necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, relating to:

(1) The extent, character, and objects of Communist Party activities in Southern California, with special reference to the structure and objectives of the Western Section, Communist Party, Southern District of California; and

(2) The strategy and tactics of the Communist Party with regard to membership in and affiliation with it.

The legislative purposes of "(1)" and "(2)" are—

(a) to obtain additional information for use by the committee in consideration of a proposed amendment to Section 4 of the Communist Control Act of 1954, prescribing a penalty for knowingly and willfully becoming or remaining a member of the Communist Party with knowledge of the purpose or objectives thereof, and to add to the committee's over-all knowledge on the subject so that the Congress may be kept informed and thus prepared to enact remedial legislation in the national defense and for internal security;

(b) to consider the need for an amendment to Secs. 4 and 5 of the Communist Control Act of 1954, amending the Internal Security Act of 1950, regarding the term "membership" as used in the Act; and

(c) to consider the need for an amendment to the last mentioned sections of the said Act so as to include "affiliation" as an element of the Act and to define its meaning.

(3) The execution by the administrative agencies concerned of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and all other laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee, the legislative purpose being to exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution of these laws to assist the Congress in appraising the administration thereof, and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary.

(4) Any other matter within the jurisdiction of the committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct this hearing, may determine.

The order of appointment of a subcommittee for the purpose of conducting this hearing is as follows:

SEPTEMBER 17, 1959.

TO: Mr. Richard Arens,  
Staff Director,  
House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Representative Morgan M. Moulder, as Chairman, and Representatives Edwin E. Willis and Donald L. Jackson, as associate members, to conduct hearings in California, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, October 20, 21, and 22, 1959, at 10:00 a.m., on subjects under investigation by the Committee and take such testimony on said days or succeeding days, as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any Member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 17th day of September 1959.

[Signed] FRANCIS E. WALTER,  
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

For the record, may I say that there is now a quorum of the subcommittee present, consisting of myself as chairman of the subcommittee and my colleague, Donald L. Jackson, as a member of the committee; therefore, a quorum is present.

On June 19, 1957, the Los Angeles Herald-Express carried a report of an interview with Dorothy Healey Connelly, chairman, Communist Party, Southern District of California, whose conviction under the Smith Act had just been reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States in its decision in the Yates case. She is quoted as saying:

This decision will mark a rejuvenation of the party in America. We've lost some members in the last few years, but now we're on our way again.

The degree and extent of this renewed activity was deemed of such importance to the national welfare and the defense of the country that the Committee on Un-American Activities conducted extensive hearings in Los Angeles in September 1958 and February 1959. These hearings related to the extent, character, and objects of the renewed activities of the Communist Party in the newly organized Southern California District of the Communist Party.

The current hearings will relate principally to Communist Party activities within the Western Section, also known as the Bay Cities Section, one of the twenty-eight component parts of the Southern California District of the Communist Party.



Committee investigations conducted in the Los Angeles area have pointed up the strategy and tactics resorted to by the Communist Party in evading the legal consequences of "membership" in the Communist Party. Abandonment of Communist Party lists of members and abolition of Communist Party cards and other indicia of membership have necessitated another look at the definition of "membership" under Section 4 of the Communist Control Act of 1954; enlargement of indications of membership as listed in Section 5 of the Act; the strengthening of Section 7 of the Act defining "Communist-infiltrated organizations," and the inclusion of "affiliation" as an element of the Act.

The committee resolution authorizing this hearing states the subject under inquiry and the legislative purposes with such particularity that there is no need for repetition.

Now, when I refer to the Communist Party in this statement, as it exists in this country, I want to clarify and emphasize the fact that it is connected with, and a part of, the international Communist conspiracy to rule and dominate the world. Unquestionably every device is now being used in this country to portray the Communist Party and its activities in the position of innocence and doing no harm to us, and also to weaken the people's opposition to its activities in this country. The Communist Party movement and its dangers are as serious now as they were years ago and will continue to be ever a threat to our American way of life. And our committee will carry on its work in exposing communism wherever it may exist and make every effort we can, as Members of Congress, to protect the American people and our American way of life and our Government that we have enjoyed for so long.

It is the standing rule of this committee that any person named in the course of committee hearings be given an early opportunity to appear before a subcommittee, if he desires, for the purpose of denying or explaining any testimony adversely affecting him.

I would remind those present in this hearing room that we are here at the direction of Congress to discharge an important legislative function.

Congressman Jackson and I have conferred at great length in the preparation of this statement, and we hope that we will have the indulgence and the respect and the cooperation of the people here in the hearing room.

I trust you will conduct yourselves as guests of this committee. A disturbance of any kind or audible comment during the course of testimony, whether favorable or unfavorable to any witness, will not be tolerated. For infraction of this rule offenders will be immediately ejected from the room. We are here at the courtesy of the Government Services Administration, and you are requested to observe its rules against smoking.

Do you wish to add anything to the statement?

MR. JACKSON. No, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MOULDER. Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Tavenner?

MR. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

I would like to call, as the first witness, Mr. Daniel Francis Cohen.

MR. MOULDER. Mr. Cohen.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you come forward, please, sir?

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give before the subcommittee of the United States Congress will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COHEN. I do.

Mr. MOULDER. Will you proceed?

TESTIMONY OF DANIEL FRANCIS COHEN, ACCOMPANIED BY  
COUNSEL, LEO FENSTER

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. COHEN. Daniel Cohen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your last name?

Mr. COHEN. C-o-h-e-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are accompanied by counsel; would counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. FENSTER. Yes, may the record indicate that Daniel Cohen is represented by Leo Fenster, F-e-n-s-t-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Cohen?

Mr. COHEN. Trenton, New Jersey, June 22, 1914.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. COHEN. In Los Angeles County.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Los Angeles County?

Mr. COHEN. Approximately 7 or 8 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you leave your native State of New Jersey at that time to come to California, or did you live at another place?

Mr. COHEN. No, I moved directly here from New Jersey.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you resided at any other place in any other state than New Jersey and California?

Mr. COHEN. May I consult with counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Surely.

Mr. COHEN. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer that question based upon my rights under the American Constitution, as amended, including the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you refer to the fifth amendment, are you referring to that part of the fifth amendment relating to the privilege of not testifying regarding any matter that may tend to incriminate you?

Mr. FENSTER. If the record may indicate that I have advised the witness that he is not to testify on the basis of the fifth amendment, which provides that no person is required to testify against himself, and that in regard to the question of incrimination, as you know, the Constitution provides that he is not required to testify against himself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the answer of the witness?

Mr. FENSTER. That is correct, sir.

Mr. COHEN. That is the answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am addressing my remarks to the witness.

Mr. COHEN. The witness has confidence in counsel, and concurs in the answer.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee advises and instructs the witness to respond to the question propounded by counsel for the committee.

Mr. COHEN. Which question are you referring to?

Mr. MOULDER. The question which counsel has asked you; will you repeat the question, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. COHEN. As to the question of counsel is my answer—

Mr. MOULDER. No, the counsel cannot speak for the witness.

Mr. COHEN. Well, I have stated that I concur in the answer of counsel that that is my answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, that there may be no misunderstanding, let me repeat my question.

Are you relying on that part of the fifth amendment to the Constitution regarding the right to refuse to answer a question which may tend to incriminate you?

Mr. COHEN. I am relying upon all of my rights under the Constitution, as amended, including the first and fifth amendments; and my understanding is that the fifth amendment includes the right not to bear witness against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

What is your present occupation?

Mr. COHEN. Upon advice of counsel, I decline to answer the question for the same mentioned reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. COHEN. Upon advice of counsel I decline to answer based upon—excuse me, shall I go through the entire formula each time?

Mr. TAVENNER. You may say on the same grounds, if you desire.

Mr. COHEN. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you served in the Armed Forces of the United States?

Mr. COHEN. I believe that Government records will show that I did not serve in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say you believe, are you in doubt about it?

Mr. COHEN. No, I have no doubt about it; I did not serve in the Armed Forces. The only reason I stated my answer that way is that the committee has adequate records on these questions, and I see no reason for raising them here at the hearing.

Mr. TAVENNER. At a previous hearing of this committee in Los Angeles in September of 1958, the committee learned of the reorganization of the Communist Party for the Southern District of California. We learned, as a result of that hearing, that there was established in the Southern District of California a District Council composed of 62 members. It is the committee's information that you were a member of that council, the District Council. Were you such a member?

Mr. COHEN. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of that District Council of the Communist Party, Southern California District now?

Mr. COHEN. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state whether or not this council, composed of 62 members, is responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the Communist Party in the Southern District of California at this time?

Mr. COHEN. Same answer for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is informed that you were a delegate, one of the California delegates to the National Convention of the Communist Party held in New York City from February 9th through the 12th of 1957; did you attend that convention?



Mr. COHEN. Same answer for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. In examining public information relating to the conduct of the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States held in New York on the dates mentioned, we find there is an article written by Walter K. Lewis, entitled, "U.S. Communists Convene" (New Leader, Feb. 25, 1957). A paragraph from this article reads as follows:

The real key to the political tone of the convention lay in a seemingly small incident which was never reported to the daily press. Delegates close to the Morning Freiheit, Yiddish-language edition of the Daily Worker, introduced a motion to condemn the Soviet assault on Jewish culture \* \* \*. In the interest of "Party unity" the motion was quashed in the resolutions committee. Since the same consideration had led U.S. Communists to applaud the worst horrors of the Stalin era, it is difficult to see any significant change in the Party's essence as a result of the 16th convention.

Did you play any part in the quashing of the resolutions committee condemning the Soviet Union for its action toward Jewish writers and Jewish culture?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the above-mentioned reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge on the subject which you could give the committee the benefit of?

Mr. COHEN. Will you please explain your question more?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Do you have any knowledge of the action of that committee which quashed any criticism of the Soviet Union for its treatment of the Jews which you could give to this committee?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the same reasons. Would counsel excuse me a moment, please?

Mr. FENSTER. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is public knowledge that at the 16th National Convention there was a factional fight within the Communist Party with what were known as the Foster supporters on the one side, and revisionists led by John Gates on the other; which side were you on?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer on the aforementioned grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether or not, during the course of that convention, you observed anything to indicate a pressure on the part of the Soviet Union to support the Foster faction in this factional fight that existed?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the above-mentioned reasons.

Mr. MOULDER. As I understand, you are invoking all provisions of the Constitution in refusing to, or declining to, answer any and all questions which are propounded to you by counsel for the committee?

Mr. COHEN. I thought the Chair had ruled that I could so answer to cover the previously made statement of invoking all constitutional provisions. Is that correct?

Mr. JACKSON. Counsel made that provision.

Mr. FENSTER. Yes, of course, utilization of the first and fifth.

Mr. COHEN. Do I have the Chair's permission to so answer?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes, you may answer by merely referring to the same reasons which you previously claimed. My point is, that you come before the committee premeditatively prepared not to answer any questions or to give the committee any information.

Mr. COHEN. That, sir, is not true. I think——

Mr. MOULDER. So far you haven't answered any question except by stating your name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cohen, there is a very enlightening article written by Harry Schwartz, which appeared in the February 4, 1957, issue of the New York Times. I would like to read you a few paragraphs from that article, and elicit from you the information as to whether or not it is correct, or any other observation that you can truthfully make regarding it.

The Soviet Communist party made unmistakably clear yesterday that it favored victory for William Z. Foster's faction at the United States Communist Party "national convention," which opens here Saturday.

In language similar to that employed by Mr. Foster in an article published last October, the Moscow newspaper Sovetskaya Rossiya, attacked "rightwing elements" among American Communists and singled out for particular criticism Joseph Clark, foreign editor of the Daily Worker here.

As reported by the United press, the Soviet newspaper linked Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and rightwing Communists here as advocates of a "national communism" that would "divide and conquer" the Communist world.

Yesterday's attack was the third recent indication of Moscow displeasure with some groups of American Communists, particularly those associated with the Daily Worker.

The two earlier indications had been an attack on the Daily Worker's editorial disapproval of the Soviet military intervention in Hungary last November, and a short, but bitter, onslaught on "Rightists" among American Communists by the Soviet Communist Party magazine, Partinaya Zhizn.

There has been much speculation recently that the rightwing elements among American Communists, whose leader is generally taken to be John Gates, editor and chief of the Daily Worker, were weakened under the pressure of Moscow's displeasure. One sign so interpreted by some observers was the decision of the New York State Communists, where rightwing elements are particularly strong, a week ago not to press for immediate conversion of the Communist Party into a Communist political education association.

Since yesterday's Moscow attack came after the concessions made by the rightwing at the New York meeting, the inference would seem indicated that the Soviet leaders were still unsatisfied and demanded both the victory of Mr. Foster's group and the serious rewriting of the draft resolution.

Did you observe any of those three efforts on the part of the Soviet Union to affect the policy of the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think the public generally and, of course, all members of the Communist Party are thoroughly acquainted with the Duclos letter back in 1945, which was designed to influence the action of the Communist Party of the United States in overthrowing Browder and in the reconstitution of the Communist Party according to the lines of its original formation. Duclos also makes such an effort at the convention of the 16th National Convention.

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer on the aforementioned grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Even after the convention had terminated there was, according to an article published in the Soviet Union, a definite effort made to influence the future action of the Communist Party of the United States. This is contained in an article over the name of T. Timofeyev, appearing on page 104 of the March 1957 issue of International Affairs, published in Moscow, and I would like to call to the committee's attention and your attention what he had to say.

An overwhelming majority voted [in speaking of the 16th National Convention] against the idea of turning the Communist Party into a "political or educational association" and called for the strengthening and consolidation of the Communist Party of the United States.

The convention reaffirmed its loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. This point was made in the main reports and delegates' speeches, and also in the resolutions, in one of which the convention reemphasized the American Party's loyalty to the "great principle of proletarian internationalism." The preamble to the new party rules adopted at the convention upholds the cardinal principle that their common interests are the link uniting the workers of all countries.

Are you familiar with that article? Have you seen it before?

Mr. COHEN. On the advice of counsel, same answer, same reasons.

Excuse me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not true, Mr. Cohen, that the November 1957 declaration of the twelve Communist Parties made in Moscow, in which Yugoslavia refused to join, was another method used by Moscow to support the Foster faction of the Communist Party in this country?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the same reasons. I don't suppose I can add anything to this?

Mr. MOULDER. Where was this convention you are referring to, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. In New York City, held February 9 to 12, 1957, the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, to which our information is that this witness was a delegate from California.

Mr. MOULDER. Let's see, what is your occupation?

Mr. COHEN. I believe the record will show I declined to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. MOULDER. Any other questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Was Dorothy Healey also a delegate to this same national convention?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the above-mentioned reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting of the Southern California District held after the national convention, in which the factual matters to which I have referred were fully discussed?

Mr. COHEN. Which matters are you referring to?

Mr. TAVENNER. The four or five instances in which the Communists, the Soviet Union attempted to influence the action of the Communist Party of the United States in behalf of the Foster faction, and against the so-called revisionists led by John Gates.

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer on the aforementioned grounds.

Mr. MOULDER. Were there other instances or knowledge that you have about the meeting that you could give the committee? When you asked counsel which instance, or what information he was asking you about, do you have any other knowledge?

Mr. COHEN. Just wasn't clear as to what the question was, sir, so I asked for the thing to be stated more definitely; after all, counsel had read from quite a number of documents.

Mr. MOULDER. All right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cohen, do you know whether in the Southern California District the Communist Party met with difficulties in the resignation of members after the beginning of the trials in the Smith Act cases in New York?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has obtained a copy of a letter written in December of 1958, signed by twenty-two members of the Communist Party in the Southern California District, which is in the



nature of a letter of grievances, to the National Committee of the Communist Party regarding the factional matters that arose in the national convention, and which I may say led later to some resignations from the Communist Party in this area. Have you ever seen that letter?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who composed it?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. There is one matter of particular importance dealing directly with the purposes of this hearing which appears in that letter. The position is taken in this letter of grievances, without quoting its exact language, that persons who have withdrawn from the Communist Party should be recognized as participating in the Communist Party movement, although no longer organizational members of the Communist Party. Will you tell the committee what you know about a plan of that kind, as to whether such a plan existed or not?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is part of the language on the subject as contained in that letter. They advised "making the present structure of the party more flexible so that membership in the present type of party club is not necessarily a requirement for adherence to the organization."

Now, are you aware of the names of persons who have withdrawn from the Communist Party, that is, from actual membership in it, but who are still supporting the Communist Party and are active adherents to its objectives?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the aforementioned reasons. I would just like to add one thing, there has been quite a number of—

Mr. TAVENNER. Add something, did you say?

Mr. FENSTER. That is what he said.

Mr. COHEN. Yes. Would counsel be pleased with my adding something? I obviously have answered a number of times that I decline to answer for constitutional reasons. I would just like to state at this time that I would object to anybody concluding from my refusal to answer that I give credence to the questions or to the nature of the questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well now, let us be a little more specific about that; are you a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer for the aforementioned reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you repeat the statement that you would not want anyone to think that you are a member of the Communist Party because you refuse to answer? Answer it, please.

Mr. FENSTER. Would you restate that question?

Mr. COHEN. May I understand your question first before I answer?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Do you wish the committee not to consider that you are a member of the Communist Party because you have refused to answer that question?

Mr. COHEN. Quite obviously I have no power over what the committee chooses to think or not think.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. COHEN. The committee is operating under its own procedures, which do not give me the right to cross-examine witnesses, which do

not give me due process of law, as I understand it to exist under our Constitution; therefore, I have not stated in any way what I expect, or do not expect, the committee to understand. I am powerless under the situation—

Mr. TAVENNER. You are just addressing—

Mr. COHEN. To make such a statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are addressing your remarks to the public, is that correct, not to the committee?

Mr. COHEN. No; I am putting in the committee's record my opinion of this. I don't, as I say, expect the committee to become convinced because I have not stated, but I want the record, I want to have the record show—

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Tavenner, may I inquire of the witness, what witness do you wish to cross-examine?

Mr. COHEN. I would like to cross-examine any witness who connected me in any way with the proceedings and who is responsible for bringing any evidence that I am being questioned about.

Mr. MOULDER. You have the opportunity now to deny these questions that have been propounded to you.

Mr. COHEN. It is only before a committee of the House of Representatives, or the Senate of the United States that the due processes of justice in this country are reversed, and the burden of proof is upon a witness and not upon the accuser.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any forum before which you would deny that you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COHEN. Excuse me, may I consult?

I decline to answer that question also on the aforementioned grounds.

Mr. JACKSON. It isn't a question of the forum, it is the nature of the question to which you object, isn't that true? Isn't it a fact that you could not, under oath, state affirmatively before any forum that you are not now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer on the aforementioned grounds, and add that I was not—that I was objecting to the nature to the hearings; yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. But the answer, your declination, the invocation of your constitutional privilege, is not to be interpreted by anyone to mean that you are a member of the Communist Party, that is one of the points you are making, is it not?

Mr. COHEN. I made a rather blanket statement, if the Congressmen will remember.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. COHEN. And I would prefer to leave it that way.

Mr. MOULDER. Any other questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no other questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

Call the next witness, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Aaron K. Cohen. Will you come forward, please, sir?

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give before this subcommittee of the United States



Congress will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COHEN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF AARON K. COHEN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
ROSE S. ROSENBERG

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. COHEN. Aaron K. Cohen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your last name?

Mr. COHEN. C-o-h-e-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are not any relative to the Mr. Cohen who preceded you on the witness stand, are you?

Mr. COHEN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are represented by counsel; would counsel please identify herself?

Mrs. ROSENBERG. Rose S. Rosenberg, b-e-r-g.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Cohen?

Mr. COHEN. July 8, 1904.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where, I say?

Mr. COHEN. Odessa.

Mr. MOULDER. Where?

Mr. COHEN. Odessa, Ukraine.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country?

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Chairman, it is impossible to discuss, with all these pictures here.

Mr. MOULDER. Yes. The witness requests the photographers to refrain from taking pictures during the course of his testimony.

Mr. COHEN. I would appreciate that.

Mr. TAVENNER. The question was, when did you first come to this country?

Mr. COHEN. 1921.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. COHEN. I am naturalized by act of Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. By act of Congress?

Mr. COHEN. That is as a minor, I came here as a minor.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a minor?

Mr. COHEN. Under act of Congress, automatically.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by being naturalized by an act of Congress?

Mr. COHEN. That is right; it is also known as the derivative.

Mr. TAVENNER. Derivative citizenship; in other words, your father was naturalized?

Mr. COHEN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was he naturalized?

Mr. COHEN. I really don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the approximate date?

Mr. COHEN. I couldn't even do that.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what court was he naturalized? In what State?

Mr. COHEN. In New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. And under what name?

Mr. COHEN. Cohen, same name.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his first name?

Mr. COHEN. Kalman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that?

Mr. COHEN. K-a-l-m-a-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live in New York City?

Mr. COHEN. I decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. COHEN. I reside in Beverly Hills, 120 South Hamel Drive.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in California?

Mr. COHEN. Since 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. COHEN. I am self-employed.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a salesman?

Mr. COHEN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your formal educational training?

Mr. COHEN. I had no formal education.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been a member of the Communist Party in the State of California as far back as 1946?

Mr. COHEN. I decline to answer on the same grounds and for the same reasons.

Mr. MOULDER. What is your occupation now, what are you engaged in now? What work do you do?

Mr. COHEN. I said that I am self-employed, salesman.

Mr. MOULDER. A salesman?

Mr. COHEN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a delegate from the Western Section of the Communist Party to the convention of the Communist Party for the Southern California District held on April 13 and 14, 1957?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer on the same grounds and same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the Western Section of the Communist Party one of twenty-eight sections of the Southern California District?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer, same grounds, same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether or not you have been assigned any particular duties by the Communist Party, and by duties I mean work within mass organizations, that is, organizations other than that of the Communist Party?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer on the same grounds for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the meeting, at the convention of April 13 and 14, 1957, Dorothy Healey, the chairman for the Southern California District of the Communist Party, made a report relating to certain activities to be engaged in by members of the Communist Party. I read excerpts from her report:

\* \* \* they [Communists] are working in community organizations, fraternal organizations, or churches. \* \* \* A further expression of the way to develop and consolidate the antimonopoly alliance, is through our participation in activating the program of the people's organizations to which we belong.

What people's organization did you belong to?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer on the same grounds for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I continue with her report:

During the last few years, a myth developed that our leading role was displayed only if we came up with program and issues initiated by ourselves. Such an idea has nothing in common with Marxism—Leninism \* \* \* So we

start by trying to unite the members on issues already projected by their own organizations [that is, organizations other than the Communist Party] and continue by finding the way to unite that organization and its members, with others.

This would indicate a very definite plan on the part of the Communist Party under its rejuvenated activity to conduct special campaigns within other organizations. Now, I want to ask you what other organizations you were directed to work in, in conformity with her plan?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer on the same grounds for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer on the same grounds for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a delegate from the Western Section of the Communist Party to the [Southern California] District Council of the Communist Party?

Mr. COHEN. Decline to answer on the same grounds for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

Call the next witness, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Daniel Bessie, will you come forward, please?

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BESSIE. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF DANIEL BESSIE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LEO FENSTER

Mr. BESSIE. Mr. Chairman, are statements permitted to be made before this committee?

Mr. MOULDER. No. You can file the statement with the committee.

Mr. BESSIE. But you do not—

Mr. MOULDER. But under the rules, the witness is not permitted to make a formal written statement. You are here to answer questions which may be propounded to you and to give us, the committee, such information as you may have concerning the subject matter about which the counsel will ask you.

Mr. BESSIE. Who will I file that with, please?

Mr. MOULDER. You may file it right here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. BESSIE. My name is Daniel Bessie.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your last name?

Mr. BESSIE. B-e-s-s-i-e; just like a girl's first name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel accompanying the witness please identify himself for the record?

Mr. FENSTER. Yes, the record may indicate that Leo Fenster represents Daniel Bessie.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. BESSIE. I was born in the town of Land Grove, Vermont. August 28, 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in California?

Mr. BESSIE. Let me think a minute, about 13 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Mr. BESSIE. I reside in Santa Monica.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. BESSIE. I am self-employed. I am a free-lance animator, I do television commercials.

Mr. MOULDER. Do what?

Mr. BESSIE. Television commercials; you know, buy such and such a beer.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your formal educational training?

Mr. BESSIE. I attended the public schools of Connecticut, Pennsylvania and New York, and Santa Monica, Calif. I am a graduate of the high school in Santa Monica.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live in Pennsylvania?

Mr. BESSIE. Excuse me?

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live in Pennsylvania?

Mr. BESSIE. Gee, that was a long time ago, I was only about 8 years old at the time. I am not really sure of the name of the town. It was somewhere near Philadelphia, but I don't remember the town.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live in New York?

Mr. BESSIE. In New York City and in Poughkeepsie, upstate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bessie, our information is that you attended the Los Angeles County Communist Party convention on January 5 and 6, 1957; is that correct?

Mr. BESSIE. Any questions such as this, concerning any associations or affiliations I may have, I feel are improper questions in that they violate the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States; therefore, I will decline to answer this question on the first amendment and on the fifth amendment, the provision, the specific provision being that a witness shall not be required to, shall not be required to be a witness against himself.

Mr. TAVENNER. The convention of the newly created Southern California District of the Communist Party was held on April 13 and 14, 1957; did you attend that convention?

Mr. BESSIE. Mr. Tavenner, this is a similar question; and since I have already answered the previous one on my constitutional grounds—stating it—I really see no necessity for asking any further questions along this line. This is your privilege to ask them, but I will again decline this question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, we live in the hope that you may change your mind about that and give the committee the benefit of information which you may have.

At this convention of April 13 and 14, 1957, Dorothy Healey made a report regarding activities which the Communist Party considered to be vital; we find this, for instance:

We are not in a position to project a definitive program of work among youth. We know that the future of our party lies in our ability to win youth to the cause of socialism. \* \* \* high on the priority list on our party's program, should be the planned and conscious approach toward the young people in the mass organizations and unions in which we participate.



Did you either hear that report made, or did you at any later time read that part of the report?

Mr. BESSIE. Mr. Tavenner, same answer for the same reasons.

Mr. MOULDER. That is, you decline to answer for the same reasons previously stated, is that correct?

Mr. BESSIE. Yes, that is correct, Mr. Chairman, that such a question violates my rights under the Constitution. And I also would like to register a protest in the attempt of this committee to get me to violate my rights under the Constitution. This is my personal opinion, and I feel the committee is doing this.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not correct that you have been extremely active in youth work?

Mr. BESSIE. What kind of youth work?

Mr. TAVENNER. Any kind of youth work.

Mr. BESSIE. May I confer with counsel?

Counsel advises me that I am within my constitutional rights to decline to answer this for the previously stated reasons.

Mr. MOULDER. Well, do you claim that right in good faith—

Mr. BESSIE. I do so claim.

Mr. MOULDER. To the committee, and state to the committee that to divulge any information concerning your activities with youth work might tend to incriminate you and subject you to criminal prosecution?

Mr. BESSIE. Mr. Chairman, I am sure you are aware that the fifth amendment says nothing whatsoever about self-incrimination. I am declining on the grounds that I do not need to be a witness against myself. The implication is the committee's implication, it is not my implication.

Mr. MOULDER. Well, you must claim that privilege in good faith.

Mr. BESSIE. I do so claim.

Mr. MOULDER. Just in order to—

Mr. BESSIE. I do so claim it in good faith.

Mr. JACKSON. Let me ask, Mr. Chairman.

Did you ever do any work, Mr. Bessie, with the Y.M.C.A.?

Mr. BESSIE. Mr. Jackson, this is another attempt, nothing more than another attempt, to get me to answer a similar question like this; and again I will say the same answer for the same reasons.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, I don't know that the Y.M.C.A. or that any activity you might have had in that connection would submit you to any criminal prosecution.

Mr. BESSIE. May I comment on that, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No. I mean, you have given your answer. You are claiming your constitutional prerogative, and that is sufficient.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you, in 1955, chairman of a club of the Labor Youth League in Santa Monica?

Mr. BESSIE. This again is another of your questions, Mr. Tavenner, along this line. I have stated that I feel these questions are in violation of the rights, of my rights under the Constitution. I feel they are improper questions. I feel the committee has no constitutional right to ask them, and under the first and the fifth amendment I will again decline to answer these questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1955?

Mr. BESSIE. Mr. Tavenner, I will not attempt to, I will not aid this committee in its attempt to violate the Constitution; same answer for the same reasons.

Mr. JACKSON. Just a moment. "Aid this committee to violate the Constitution" is a presumption of the witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BESSIE. It is an opinion.

Mr. JACKSON. The House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority takes a different view.

Mr. BESSIE. I am aware of that.

Mr. JACKSON. I want to get this divergence of opinion on the record.

Mr. BESSIE. However, is it not correct, Mr. Jackson, as you say, in spite of the fact that a majority of our Government may offer one policy, it is the right of every citizen to disagree with that policy?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, or to agree.

Mr. BESSIE. Or agree with it as he so chooses.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, that is a right you have. We have not questioned your right to avail yourself of the amendments which you have taken. We have no questions as to that.

Mr. BESSIE. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. On March 8, 1957, were you chairman of a Labor Youth League meeting at which it was announced the National Convention of the Communist Party had taken action to disband the league?

Mr. BESSIE. May I confer with counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. BESSIE. I will stand on all the constitutional grounds I have previously stated, the first and the fifth amendments, as well as any others which may apply.

Mr. JACKSON. And decline to answer the question?

Mr. BESSIE. And decline to answer the question on those grounds, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it a fact, as demonstrated by evidence that has been introduced, that the Labor Youth League was disbanded at about the time I mentioned. Now, isn't it true that after disbanding of that organization an attempt was made to start a new youth organization?

Mr. BESSIE. Same answer for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you connected with any effort to organize a new youth organization after March 8, 1957?

Mr. BESSIE. Mr. Tavenner, the proceedings have gone on for quite a time now, and you have previously stated you hoped I would change my mind and my answers, and it is obvious that I am answering any questions of association, affiliation, or what-not by claiming my constitutional privileges, and it is obvious that any questions which would attempt to link me with any organization, group, or person that your committee has decided is subversive, I will continue to answer on my constitutional grounds. I will answer this question by saying the same: I decline to answer on my constitutional grounds previously stated.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have any knowledge or information concerning the activities of any subversive organization in this country?

Mr. BESSIE. Same answer for the same reasons, Mr. Moulder.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee's investigation has disclosed information indicating that in April of 1957 you were chairman of a meeting of members of the Labor Youth League which decided to call themselves by the name of the Los Angeles County Progressive Youth League. Is that correct?

Mr. BESSIE. I claim my constitutional privilege of refusing to be a witness against myself and also the first amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that league in existence now?

Mr. BESSIE. The previous answer will suffice, I refuse to answer for the reasons previously given.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, just in the interest of protecting the witness' last answer, he said the first amendment to the Constitution—

Mr. FENSTER. He also indicated the fifth.

Mr. JACKSON. I want to be sure it is on the record.

Mr. MOULDER. I just want to clarify my question. A moment ago when you stated you will not give us any information concerning your affiliation or association with any organization which the committee deems to be subversive, would you answer any question which may be propounded to you by counsel about any subversive organization which you deem to be subversive, or do you have any knowledge about any such subversive organization?

Mr. BESSIE. Well, you have asked me three or four questions in one, Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. I will ask you a very simple question. Do you have any knowledge or information concerning any organization which you believe to be subversive?

Mr. BESSIE. You have already asked me that question, and I already stated a constitutional reason for refusing to answer it, and I will again state the constitutional reason for refusing to answer.

Mr. MOULDER. We are in complete accord then on the identity of subversive organizations.

Mr. BESSIE. Mr. Moulder, I will be glad to discuss our different opinions of subversion in this country off the record at any time you would so desire.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived in the Los Angeles area continuously since the time you first moved here, or have you lived for a period of time at other places?

Mr. BESSIE. May I confer with counsel, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. BESSIE. No, I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you spend a period of time in New Mexico in 1958?

Mr. BESSIE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you there?

Mr. BESSIE. It was about 6 or 7 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you return to the Los Angeles area?

Mr. BESSIE. It was early of, early this year. I don't remember the exact month, but it was early this year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, at about the time you left in 1958, had you not indicated an inclination to get out of the Communist Party?



Mr. BESSIE. Well, this is a loaded question, I feel, Mr. Tavenner; you have no—if you would, well, I will just decline to answer on the constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me make it more correct.

Mr. BESSIE. Yes, I would appreciate that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you get out of the Communist Party for a period of time in 1958, and by getting out of the Communist Party I mean cease to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BESSIE. I will claim my constitutional rights of the first and fifth amendments, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Now, Mr. Bessie, we have discovered, during the course of these hearings, a plan on the part of some persons connected with the Communist Party to establish the principle of withdrawal from membership in the Communist Party, organizationally speaking, and yet continue in the relationship of adherence to the Communist Party and continuing to support the Communist Party in various ways. Are you a person that would be under that category?

Mr. BESSIE. Mr. Jackson, you are my representative in Congress, I turn to you. This line of questioning has gone on, and I have continually declined any answers of this kind on constitutional reasons. Do you feel that this sort of questioning can continue?

Mr. JACKSON. I feel that your rights are fully protected if you simply decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. BESSIE. But you feel there is no reason for it to stop?

Mr. JACKSON. I have no way of knowing to what point counsel is directing his inquiry.

Mr. BESSIE. I see. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. For that reason I would not feel constrained to attempt to put any curb on him, at the same time assuring you that your rights will be protected adequately by simply refusing to answer.

Mr. BESSIE. Thank you. Would you repeat the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you read the question?

(The question was read.)

Mr. BESSIE. As Mr. Jackson, my representative, has informed me I may claim my constitutional privileges, therefore, I will refuse to answer that question on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. JACKSON. I dare say you knew that before that comment.

Mr. BESSIE. Knew that you were my representative?

Mr. JACKSON. I dare say that you knew your rights were adequately protected before I advised you.

Mr. BESSIE. I had to say that, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. You are represented by counsel, and I am sure he so advised you.

Mr. FENSTER. Let the record so indicate, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. On your return from New Mexico in 1959, have you engaged in any Communist Party activity in the Los Angeles area?

Mr. BESSIE. I would like to offer a comment as to my stay in New Mexico, if I may, prior to answering that question. May I do so?

Counsel advises me that I may decline to answer that question simply without making any comment. On the grounds previously stated, I will so do. Excuse me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you return to Los Angeles prior to July of 1959? I believe you stated the first of the year, but I am not certain.



Mr. BESSIE. I don't think—I think it was prior to July, I am not sure, I think it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting on July 10, 1959, which was a reception for Gus Hall, one of the Smith Act defendants from the East?

Mr. BESSIE. I decline to answer that on the grounds that I have previously stated, the constitutional grounds I previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us the purpose of the reception?

Mr. BESSIE. It is another related question; again I will decline on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. BESSIE. Mr. Tavenner, and gentlemen of the committee, I feel this questioning has gone on quite long enough really, although as you said, Mr. Jackson, I may claim a constitutional privilege; and I feel there are many worthwhile un-American activities that could be investigated in the South, terrorism against Negro children, which you refuse to investigate, so I will decline to answer, Mr. Tavenner, on the constitutional grounds I have previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are a resident of Santa Monica. Is Santa Monica an area within the Western Section of the Communist Party?

Mr. BESSIE. I decline to answer that on the same, for the same reasons, same constitutional reasons I previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No, I have no questions.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused. You may claim your witness fees from the clerk of the committee.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will stand in recess for a period of 5 minutes.

(Short recess taken.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

Call the next witness, please, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Moisselle Clinger. Will you come forward, please, Mrs. Clinger?

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. CLINGER. I do.

Mr. MOULDER. All right, proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

#### TESTIMONY OF MOISELLE (J.) CLINGER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please, Mrs. Clinger.

Mrs. CLINGER. Moisselle Clinger.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell your first name?

Mrs. CLINGER. M-o-i-s-e-l-l-e.

Mr. TAVENNER. And your last name?

Mrs. CLINGER. C-l-i-n-g-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you raise your voice a little more, please? It is noted that you do not have counsel with you. It is the practice of the committee to explain to all witnesses that they are entitled to counsel, if they desire. Do you desire counsel?

Mrs. CLINGER. No; I don't feel that I need it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You don't feel that you need counsel?

Mrs. CLINGER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you live in Los Angeles, Mrs. Clinger?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes; I live in Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a resident of Los Angeles?

Mrs. CLINGER. Oh, 25, 30 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born?

Mrs. CLINGER. In Oklahoma City.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mrs. CLINGER. Housewife.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your previous occupation?

Mrs. CLINGER. I have been employed by Douglas Aircraft.

Mr. MOULDER. I didn't understand you.

Mrs. CLINGER. I have been employed by Douglas Aircraft Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed by Douglas Aircraft?

Mrs. CLINGER. Approximately 11 years, but not consecutively.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you engaged in work of any type for the United States Government?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes; I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of that work?

Mrs. CLINGER. I was undercover agent for the FBI.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of time?

Mrs. CLINGER. From approximately 1942 to 1956.

Mr. TAVENNER. From 1942 to 1956. What type of work was this that you were engaged in for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, what type of work was it that you were doing?

Mrs. CLINGER. Undercover work in the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you testified on any other occasion as a witness for the United States Government?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes; I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that occasion?

Mrs. CLINGER. In 1957 before the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the subject of your testimony? What matter was it that you appeared in as a witness?

Mrs. CLINGER. Covering the Communist activities pertaining to the California Defense Committee that was set up.

Mr. TAVENNER. California Emergency Defense Committee?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this committee still in existence?

Mrs. CLINGER. To my knowledge; no.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of that committee to begin with?

Mrs. CLINGER. To raise money for the people here in California that were—to raise money for the so-called Smith Act defendants in California, the Smith Act defendants.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you first became associated with the Communist Party in your work for the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, in 1941 I became very interested politically in groups, through friends of mine, and attended all types of political meetings; and I noticed there seemed to be a great deal of dissension, and questioned my friends about this, and they said, oh, we know that there are Communists in our group, and they cause all this dissension, but we can't do anything about it. We can't prove anything.

Well, this made rather an impression on me. I wondered why nothing could be done, why didn't they do something. And the more I thought about this, I felt that maybe there was a possibility that I could do something in my very naive way. I went down to the Communist headquarters in Los Angeles by myself, and there was a woman in the office, and I told her that I was interested in the Communist Party and would like to know more about it. And she immediately took my name and address and said that she was there alone, was quite busy, but someone would contact me.

A few weeks later someone did contact me, a woman did contact me and suggested that I attend what was then known as the California Labor School. At this point, I felt that the thing I wanted had been accomplished. I went to the Bureau of Investigation and told them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me a minute. Will you put that microphone a little closer; I believe we will pick up your voice better.

Mrs. CLINGER. And told them how far I had gone, and immediately there was interest shown, and I was asked to continue. And I didn't want to join the party to a degree, but at that time, in fact, I was afraid to. I mean, I didn't know what I was really getting into. But the men in the Federal Bureau of Investigation asked me if I would continue to work as far as I could go, and this was the beginning of a 14-year siege that was, I would say—

Mr. JACKSON. This was in 1942?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes; the first part of 1942, as I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you continued in the Communist Party until 1956?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you get out of the Communist Party in 1956?

Mrs. CLINGER. Actually it was because I had had so many years, I felt that I had done all that I could do physically. I mean, my health wasn't too good at this point. I also had a little girl and I wanted to be able to devote more time to her, which I hadn't been able to do up to this point. In other words, I mean, I had had it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You had had it?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. During this period of about 15 years, did you make reports to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. How frequently did you make reports?

Mrs. CLINGER. At least once a week.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over that entire period?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you attend the California Labor School?

Mrs. CLINGER. As I remember, about 6, 8 weeks.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course that school is no longer in existence.



Mrs. CLINGER. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period that you attended it, what was the Communist Party connection with it, if any, as far as you were able to observe?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, at that time you must realize that I was quite naive as to what the Communist policy was. Certain leaflets and booklets did have the Communist Party name in as publisher, and the very fact that I was finally urged by my teacher to make a decision to join the party was some proof.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Who was that person?

Mrs. CLINGER. Eva Shafran.

Mr. TAVENNER. Eva Shafran?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions in the Communist Party have you held since you became a member?

Mrs. CLINGER. Those on club level, I mean P.W. director.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by P.W. director?

Mrs. CLINGER. People's World, which is a local paper here on the West Coast—educational director, membership and dues, which is combined in one operation, and labor director.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, during the period that you held these various positions on the local level, what opportunity did you have to meet with persons from other groups of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, there would be, for instance, a literature meeting, and all the literature directors from all the clubs in the area would meet, and we would discuss problems. And this was true with every office; I mean they would meet on sometimes section level, everyone in the section; this would happen occasionally.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you reside at the time that you first became a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. In West Hollywood.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the first group of the Communist Party to which you were assigned?

Mrs. CLINGER. I don't remember the name, it was a neighborhood—well, when we say a neighborhood group, I mean, there are people from all different walks of life, but the name of the club I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of that first club to which you were assigned?

Mrs. CLINGER. 2, 3, 4 months; it was for a short period of time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the next group of the Communist Party to which you were assigned?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, could I elaborate a little why there was another group?

Mr. TAVENNER. Surely.

Mrs. CLINGER. In this first group there were some people who did work in defense plants; and the chairman of this group, by the way, was Mary Gordon, and she made the remark that they were setting up particularly aircraft units of people that worked in aircraft or, in other words, industrial units at this time; and there were some people in our group at that time, and they were being moved to either aircraft or shipyard units, whichever they happened to be, the kind of work they were doing. This interested me, and I reported this in one

of my reports to the F.B.I., and it was decided that it would be wise for me to go into an aircraft plant, which I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What aircraft plant was that?

Mrs. CLINGER. Douglas Aircraft Company in Santa Monica.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is when you began your employment?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You began your employment there?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, in 1942, that was in 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, you indicated you wanted to adjourn at a quarter of 12:00.

Mr. MOULDER. Yes. What time do you wish to come back, 1:30?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all right.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will stand in recess until 1:30.

(Thereupon, at 11:45 a.m., Tuesday, October 20, 1959, the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at 1:30 p.m. of the same day.)

**AFTERNOON SESSION, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1959**

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

Are you ready, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Clinger, will you come forward, please?

**TESTIMONY OF MOISELLE (J.) CLINGER—Resumed**

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Clinger, at the noon recess we were beginning to discuss your employment at the Douglas Aircraft plant. I understood you to say that members of your neighborhood group of the Communist Party were getting out into industry at that time.

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the Federal Bureau of Investigation suggested that you get into the airplane industry?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you got into the airplane industry at Douglas Aircraft, did you find any organized groups of the Communist Party within the employees of that plant?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us just what you know about that.

Mrs. CLINGER. I was transferred into the Douglas Aircraft unit of the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask a question at this point? How did you determine, first of all, that there was such a unit at the Douglas Aircraft Co.?

Mrs. CLINGER. From the first group that I was in.

Mr. JACKSON. You were notified by the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. That such a group did exist at the Douglas Aircraft Company?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. And you were instructed to affiliate with that branch?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just tell us briefly your experience within the Communist Party while employed at the Douglas Aircraft plant.

Mrs. CLINGER. At this period of time the two unions, the IAM [International Association of Machinists] and the CIO were attempt-

ing to organize in Douglas Aircraft. The members of the Communist group were backing the CIO; this was the full purpose at the time of this unit, to get the vote of the people in the plant for the CIO, and the whole time was spent on this organization of the people within the plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what was the result of that fight for the membership?

Mrs. CLINGER. The IAM won out, and this was a great disappointment to our unit. However, there was an attempt made, and not only an attempt—many of us went in and joined the IAM, but were not able to make any headway whatsoever in the organization. And right after this period, it was decided that the aircraft units, as a whole, would be disbanded and the people would go into—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment, by aircraft unit, you mean units of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. CLINGER. Would go into local clubs wherever the people may live.

Mr. TAVENNER. What security provisions did Douglas Aircraft plant have at that time, and what effect did it have upon the activity of the Communist Party within the plant?

Mrs. CLINGER. This was a problem to the Communists in the plant. I mean, you had to be very careful, and because the men responsible for the security of Douglas Aircraft Company were quite aware of the problem of infiltration—and they were men that were highly trained in security—and eventually, I mean, it made it almost impossible to do any kind of work in the plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. By work what do you mean?

Mrs. CLINGER. Even discussing anything political, shall we say, in any controversial—

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, when you were talking about work, were you referring to Communist Party work?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is what I mean.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Now, I interrupted you, you were saying it was very difficult because of the tight security.

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. To carry on the work of the Communist Party in the Douglas Aircraft plant.

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. So, from your observation the security officers were doing a good job?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct. The thing is that they were aware; and this is a very important thing, just to be aware.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. From time to time legislation has been offered in Congress endeavoring to tighten up the laws of subversion with relation to persons employed in defense projects.

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you consider that an important thing for the defense of this country?

Mrs. CLINGER. A very important thing.



Mr. TAVENNER. And you know, from your own experience, at the Douglas Aircraft plant that it was an effective job that the security officers were doing?

Mrs. CLINGER. Very effective.

Mr. JACKSON. Was there any discussion in your branch meetings away from the plant itself as to the necessity for maintaining secrecy so far as your individual memberships in the Communist Party were concerned?

Mrs. CLINGER. This is a foregone conclusion.

Mr. JACKSON. No discussion was necessary?

Mrs. CLINGER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. In your opinion?

Mrs. CLINGER. No. A person in defense work belonging to the Communist Party actually is given the protection by the party to be sure that their identity does not become known.

Mr. JACKSON. You have said that you believe the security people did a good job—I am inclined to agree with you—but how, in your opinion, was it possible for a group of Communists to obtain employment in the plant in the first instance?

Mrs. CLINGER. You must remember that in the period of time—I have no way of knowing whether these people were Communists when they went into the plant, this I do not know—but you must remember that during the time the Soviet Union and the United States were allies, there was a great feeling of cooperation, I mean, at that particular time.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes; but notwithstanding that, known Communists could not have gained employment.

Mrs. CLINGER. Oh, no, no. I am sure of this.

Mr. JACKSON. So, the Communists were successful, in spite of this spirit of cooperation which existed at that time, in secretly obtaining employment?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. In the plants, and, on many occasions, at the direction of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct. Again at this particular time there were not the laws, too, and people were not as aware of this problem of infiltration, what it would really mean.

Mr. JACKSON. You say people were not aware of this; the security agencies were aware of it.

You mean people generally?

Mrs. CLINGER. Generally, yes.

Mr. JACKSON. The American public?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. As distinguished from the Federal security agencies?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course, it is true that in the earlier period you were speaking of, the public was not generally aware of the dangers of Communist infiltration?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. What year are we speaking about, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. She began her employment there I believe in 1943.

Mrs. CLINGER. 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1942, and it extended for a period of 11 years.

Mr. JACKSON. I am trying to keep up chronologically so we will know what year we are talking about.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, how many different units of the Communist Party were you acquainted with during the period of your employment at Douglas?

Mrs. CLINGER. Do you mean aircraft units?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I mean, was there more than one, or how many were there?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, there was one for the day shift, and one for the swing shift, and one for the graveyard shift; I mean, all these shifts were working, and there were people represented on all shifts.

Mr. TAVENNER. You left employment there about what year?

Mrs. CLINGER. I don't know, sometime between 1945, 1946, for a short time. I did leave Douglas.

Mr. TAVENNER. And then went back later?

Mrs. CLINGER. And went back later, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any significance to your leaving for short periods of time? Why did you leave, if there is any significance to it?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, at this particular time, a great many of the Communists in the plant had left the plant, and there was some development that took place, there was a book shop opened in Santa Monica.

Mr. TAVENNER. By book shop do you mean Communist Party bookshop?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, and a book store and art gallery combined. And I worked in this book shop for a period of time.

I volunteered my services, and they were gladly accepted because there was just one person, and the hours were very long, and there was just one person operating this bookshop at the time, Mary Gordon.

Mr. TAVENNER. And then after several years you went back to the Douglas Aircraft plant?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, a couple of years.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you happen to go back to the Douglas Aircraft plant?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, I just wanted to go back to work, I mean, at this time.

Mr. JACKSON. Pardon me, Counsel. Did you receive any remuneration for your work in the bookshop?

Mrs. CLINGER. No, no, I volunteered my services there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what was the Communist Party's attitude toward your returning to work at the Douglas Aircraft plant?

Mrs. CLINGER. By attitude?

Mr. TAVENNER. I mean, what did the members of the Communist Party say to you with regard to your being employed and continuing with your employment?

Mrs. CLINGER. Those that knew were very happy that I was there; however, there were many people in different clubs that I belonged to at various times who were not aware that I was at Douglas. It was generally felt that it just wasn't the business of the rank and file. But there were certain people in the party that knew where I worked. You just don't ask people where they work. There was times, because



I wasn't quite as active in the party work, that some people questioned this. I mean, on petitions, picket lines, ringing doorbells, and so forth. There was questions, why was I not required to do this. I know it became an issue one time, almost an issue, a couple of people, Elaine and Gil Drummond—

Mr. TAVENNER. Wait a minute. What is that name?

Mrs. CLINGER. Elaine and Gil Drummond.

Mr. TAVENNER. Elaine and Gil Drummond?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. D-r-u-m-m-o-n-d?

Mrs. CLINGER. I believe so.

They seemed to resent the fact that I was not as active in party work. This was taken up with the then section organizer, I believe, at the time, anyway, it was Merle Brodsky, who immediately felt and said that I—the fact that I was at Douglas Aircraft, and certainly my security must be maintained. And I told him that I was a little unhappy with the whole situation and that I wasn't really being active; there was not really any work being done on it in our clubs in the Bay area, as far as labor movement was concerned I felt isolated being at Douglas.

Maybe the best thing for me would be to quit my job at Douglas and go some place else and do something where I could be more active.

He immediately said, no, that I should not do this, that I must stay on the job at Douglas because I might be of value.

Mr. TAVENNER. That you might be of value later?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he say in what way you might be of value later?

Mrs. CLINGER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you have any discussion with him at any later period regarding your activities at the Douglas Aircraft plant?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, at 2 or 3 different times, he and I discussed my job at Douglas. He wanted to know exactly what type of job I had at Douglas, and I told him in the library. And he wanted me to explain the functions of the library, which I did, and what was there, the matter of classified material, the classified material with films, highly classified reports, and blueprints.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, who was that who was interested in having that information?

Mrs. CLINGER. Merle Brodsky.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his position in the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Organizer at the section, I believe at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, didn't that indicate to you that the reason why he wanted you to keep your position in the Douglas Aircraft plant so that you could be of future value to the party had something to do with information that you could obtain?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you asked at any time for specific information regarding classified information while employed at Douglas?

Mrs. CLINGER. The only thing—Merle did ask me to list any names of engineers or technicians that I might consider being liberal.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for that, why did he want that information, do you know?

Mrs. CLINGER. I can only assume for future contact work—this is the usual thing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Now, you mentioned a Merle Brodsky as an organizer of the Communist Party. You also mentioned the names of two other persons, Elaine Drummond, and I believe you said Gilbert Drummond?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, or Gil Drummond.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that they were the ones who had complained to the organizer that you weren't doing your share of the chores, you might say, of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know those two persons, Elaine Drummond and Gilbert Drummond, to be members of the party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Up to what period of time did you know them to be members?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, until 1956 when I—

Mr. TAVENNER. They were still members when you got out?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you meet with these people in closed party meetings?

Mrs. CLINGER. Oh, yes, they were both in my club, I mean, at one time.

Mr. MOULDER. How many members were in your club?

Mrs. CLINGER. At what period of time, I mean, this varied?

Mr. MOULDER. The period referred to.

Mrs. CLINGER. Oh, at this particular time, maybe ten.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you said that there were three organized groups of the Communist Party within the employees of Douglas Aircraft plant that you were acquainted with; who were the leaders among those groups, if you can recall?

Mrs. CLINGER. Celia Wilby.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell Wilby?

Mrs. CLINGER. W-i-l-b-y, if I remember it, and Jean Rubin. I believe at a later period Jean Rubin Sproul is her complete name, and Hart Mitchell—Hart, H-a-r-t, Mitchell; Elaine Titleman; Pauline Gilbert; and that right for the moment—

Mr. MOULDER. Can she give additional identification?

Mr. TAVENNER. She said that is all she could recall for the moment.

Mr. JACKSON. I assume these were the people in positions of leadership?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. On one or two of these shifts, is that correct?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know if any of these subsequently left the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. No, I don't.

Mr. MOULDER. The reason I asked the question I did—if you can identify them more particularly—is so that they won't be confused with other people who might have the same names.

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, I am sorry, I mean—

Mr. JACKSON. They were all employed at Douglas?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. During a specific period of time?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other assignments in the Communist Party did you have besides your work in the Douglas Aircraft plant? You have mentioned the bookstore as one. Did you have any other assignments at any time?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, over a period of time there were other things. Everyone was expected to work in some type of a mass organization; and since I was a registered Democrat, I was asked to become active in the local Democratic Party, or at least attend any meetings that they may have. And, I also belonged to the I.A.M.

Mr. MOULDER. What did you say?

Mrs. CLINGER. International Association of Machinists, the A. F. of L. And I did attend these meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, let us go back to the book store. Where was this book store located in which you worked for about two years?

Mrs. CLINGER. On Fifth Street in Santa Monica. I don't remember just the exact address.

Mr. MOULDER. May I clarify her statement a moment ago—when you were given those directions, what year was that when you had instructions to be active in certain organizations and political parties?

Mrs. CLINGER. No, I took this over a period of years, not necessarily—I know this was over a period of years. I mean, this was not at this particular time that we are still talking about 1942 and 1943, in later period these instructions were given on the mass organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was asking you about the bookstore, and you told us where it was located. Now, will you describe the activities of the bookstore, what it did, and how the business of the bookstore was handled?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, this was called the Thomas Jefferson Bookshop. It was a regular bookstore. We also had an art gallery there. And the main thing was that this period, it was the focal point for the distribution of literature for the whole Bay area. In other words, all literature was left at this book shop and was picked up by the literature directors of the various Communist clubs in the Bay area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this literature picked up openly out in the store, or was it something that was concealed?

Mrs. CLINGER. The things that were to be given to the various clubs was kept in the back.

Mr. MOULDER. How many clubs were in the Bay area?

Mrs. CLINGER. At that particular time?

Mr. MOULDER. What particular time are you referring to?

Mrs. CLINGER. From 1944 through approximately 1946, something like that.

Mr. MOULDER. How many clubs?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, of course, this fluctuated. There was one period of time there were five or six, and then again, it was a matter of fluctuation, because there is always a continual change.

Mr. MOULDER. How many people, would you say, were members of each club?

Mrs. CLINGER. At one period in that time there was as many as twenty, twenty-five. At another time it would be maybe only ten. As I say, this fluctuated for various reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean about that number in one club, or in all the clubs together?



Mrs. CLINGER. No, I mean in each club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have occasion while employed there to meet representatives from the different clubs who had control of, and were in charge of, the literature for the particular clubs?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, at different times. I was not always there. I usually went in the afternoons and closed the place—

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you stated that Mary Gordon was the one who operated the bookstore?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what was the period of time in which you say you were assigned to work in the Democratic Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. This was at a later period, much later, actually, 1950, I mean, 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever instructed to work in the Independent Progressive Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. In the club most people did. There was the matter of petitions which had to be signed and turned in to get the I.P.P. on the ballot. Here again because of security, I did not. Many people—not everyone in the party changed their registration to I.P.P. A lot of them did, and were asked to. I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you participate in any way in the raising of money for the Communist Party? Or, let me put the question this way, how did the Communist Party finance its various operations? Where did it get the money from?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, of course, there was the dues, there was the sustainers.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by sustainers?

Mrs. CLINGER. People who you knew were not members of the Communist Party, but people who you would consider sympathetic to any cause, I mean, it didn't make much difference what it was. But you knew that you could get so much money from them every month. This is a part of the responsibility of being a Communist, being able to have people that you can depend on to get money from them. This is a rank-and-file type of thing. Now, I think the Thomas Jefferson Bookshop was a very good example of how to raise money. I mean, this bookshop had to be supported, there was rent to be paid there, and it was a good reason to raise money, I think, which is important, not that it took all the money that was raised to support this bookshop, but it was a reason to get out and have parties and so forth to bring money to support this bookshop supposedly. Certainly all the money that was raised certainly was not used by this bookshop. And there were many parties given, and very successful parties given, and a great deal of money was raised at various times.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by successful parties?

Mrs. CLINGER. I mean where even as high as \$400 or \$500 was raised at one party, one that I remember very distinctly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I would like you to give the committee illustrations of the raising of substantial funds by party meetings, by meetings, but I want you to confine yourself to meetings that you know were organized by Communists or Communist Party members.

Mrs. CLINGER. It was decided that the bookshop was not getting funds in fast enough, and we should have some real big publicity, a party with big names attached and that would draw people to this

gathering, willing to spend money. Mary and I discussed this in the bookshop and then at a closed meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. A meeting of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Of this Communist group—yes, Party—in Santa Monica held at the home of Ben Olson, and we were trying to make plans for a party. There had been a suggestion of two or three places that we could hold this party. One of the people there, Lawrence Lipton, offered his home for this party, and arrangements were made from then on, and we did have a party there, and quite a successful one. And here again the name at that time of Lawrence Lipton would not have been a drawing card, not at that period. He was comparatively an unknown. But at that time he was married to Craig Rice, and so when the invitations went out they were put out in the name of Craig Rice, who I am sure didn't really—the party was there and she was there, but she certainly had no knowledge that, in other words, that she was being used, and her name was being used.

Mr. TAVENNER. She was not a member of the Communist Party, as far as you knew?

Mrs. CLINGER. No, and not very politically minded at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you said that this closed Communist Party meeting at which this plan was made was at a person's home by the name of Olson?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think I should state that this person, Ben Olson, some years ago appeared as a witness before this committee and refused to answer any material questions regarding his Communist Party activities, using the fifth amendment as his reason for refusing to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say the party was actually held, and that it was successful?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, it was held, and financially it was very successful.

Mr. JACKSON. What happened to the money that was raised at this party, did it all go to the bookstore, or for whatever purpose it was purported to be held?

Mrs. CLINGER. This I do not know. There were times that I did take money to the bank, and it was put in an account, but the real financial structure, I do not know.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were not connected with the financial end of this?

Mrs. CLINGER. No. Mary Gordon was the one that took care of this.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, can you give us other illustrations?

Mrs. CLINGER. There were a great many fund-raising parties held at the home of Silvia Richards. At that time she lived down on the oceanfront, had quite a large home, and, therefore, was able to give these parties at different times where money was raised one way or another, raffles, and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. I might state for the record, Mr. Chairman, that Silvia Richards appeared before this committee some years ago and testified fully and completely regarding her former membership in the Communist Party, the fact that she had left it, and the reasons for leaving the Communist Party.



All right, proceed.

Mrs. CLINGER. And another—this is in another period—I remember one time, this was during the aircraft unit period, Celia Wilby told me that some of the Hollywood and West Los Angeles clubs were giving a party and that they were asking all the aircraft units to assist in this. And she asked me if I could go to a meeting to find out exactly what was going on and also, she understood there would be tickets there, if I would pick them up and bring them back. She told me where the meeting was to be held. It was at the home of Les Rivers; and when I got there, he was quite surprised, apparently the meeting had been called off, and I had not been notified. But nevertheless, he gave me the tickets to take back. They were to be sold for this party. The party was to be given, and it was finally given at the home of Budd Schulberg at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the record, Mr. Chairman, Budd Schulberg appeared before this committee in Washington, I think early in 1951, and told the committee fully the pressure that had been brought to bear upon him as a member, former member of the Communist Party, to write in certain lines that the Communist Party was interested in; and upon his refusal to do it, he left the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. You say you reported to the F.B.I. once each week?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. That is, at least once each week?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. What did you report?

Mrs. CLINGER. Any meetings that I had attended, who was there, any plans that were made for future meetings, and anything that took place.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you make a record of your reports, or did you do this orally without a record?

Mrs. CLINGER. No, they were written reports.

Mr. MOULDER. You have notes with you now, I believe?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, I do have notes. These are just notes to refresh my memory. I mean, 14 or 15 years, that is a little difficult. I have just a few notes here; is this all right?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the practice of the Communist Party during the period of your membership with regard to assigning people to work in mass organizations?

Mrs. CLINGER. Almost everyone was assigned to some type of a mass organization. Now, there may have been something that they were interested in. I mean, they were all in some group that they may have belonged to, but if you didn't belong, you were told where or what to join. I remember the churches. There was one period where they felt it was quite necessary that different people join different churches, and for—

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you, in telling about these assignments to various mass organizations, I would like you to designate who they were, if you can recall.

Mr. MOULDER. You mean who gave the assignments?

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were given particular assignments.

Mr. MOULDER. Who was giving her directions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, who it was that was directed to work within a certain group. She has told what she was directed to do. Now, if you can recall, I would like to know what other people were directed to do, as far as you know.

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, Gil Drummond I know was working in a minority group. Harper Poulson was working with a minority group, was considered a minority group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you there. When you are identifying these persons who were assigned to work in particular groups, did you know those persons to be members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the basis of your knowledge that they were members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Because they appeared in closed meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. With you?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, with me.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Now, you have named a person by the name of Poulson, what is the first name?

Mrs. CLINGER. Harper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Harper Poulson?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his assignment?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, at one time he was very interested in, and was working at, the NAACP; and although at that time he did not belong to the club that I belonged to, he did come into the club, making suggestions as to the work of the Communist Party in the Santa Monica area concerning the NAACP. There were several people who did go and join NAACP, and, actually, it developed into a demand by the NAACP on Sears in Santa Monica to hire Negro people. There were picket lines, and this was due to the fact that Harper Poulson and Gil Drummond and there was—

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that name?

Mrs. CLINGER. O. E. Burrell. And several who had joined the NAACP in hopes of bringing about, in the hope of gaining control, actually, of the local NAACP—and I might say that there was a large picket line, and this was almost completely manned by members of the Communist Party. Fortunately, there was a strong enough movement in the NAACP who finally was able to hold their ground, and eventually forced the Communist group out of their organization. It was a battle, but the Communists were not successful in that local, although it looked like they were going to be for a while, but the strength of the people in the organization finally forced them out.

Mr. MOULDER. Where was this?

Mrs. CLINGER. In Santa Monica.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. Now, if you will recall other assignments, you spoke of assignments in church work. Do you know of anyone who received such an assignment who was known to you personally to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes. The same O. E. Burrell, I know, did quite a bit. I know that he belonged to the church in Santa Monica, and to me this was kind of an odd thing, and to many of the old-timers in the Communist Party it was kind of earth shaking to have to go into a church. I mean, to become a member of a church. I noticed

it was mostly the younger—I wouldn't say younger, I mean the newer—members that they were able to do this with. I noticed it was not the older members, long-standing members who were too interested in taking on this task of going into the churches to work.

I know my husband was asked to join a church, and I frowned on this, so that he was not pushed to go ahead with this.

Mr. MOULDER. You are referring to "they," and people giving directions and instructions, but you haven't told us who they were. Let us be specific.

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, at times whoever happened to be a chairman of a group.

Mr. MOULDER. Who were they?

Mrs. CLINGER. Elaine Drummond at one time was a chairman of a group. Elizabeth Fletcher, at one time, and also she later became, over the period of years, an official in the division. And certainly, Merle Brodsky at the time.

Mr. MOULDER. Who?

Mrs. CLINGER. Merle Brodsky at the time. These people would appear on different occasions—if at the time they were not the chairman, they were either section officials, and so forth—and if there was a slight change in policy or if anything new was coming up, these people would appear in clubs and make these statements or requests.

There are many of them. There is Seymour Brodsky. And at one time—a period in 1944, 1945—it was Bill Young, who was quite prominent in the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. You say you left the Communist Party in 1956?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Who was the chairman or the leader of your group then?

Mrs. CLINGER. At that particular time Elaine Drummond, I believe.

Mr. MOULDER. Who?

Mrs. CLINGER. Elaine Drummond, because she was the one that I talked to when I left the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said Bill Young was prominent in the Communist Party. Can you identify him with greater particularity?

Mrs. CLINGER. Bill Young was a carpenter. He was also secretary of the Central Labor Council in Santa Monica in about 19—I don't know, 1944, something like that—and he also ran, of course, for some kind of a city something, I don't remember what it was, at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you say that at the time that you left the party in 1956 you were a member of the group at Santa Monica?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you been a member of that particular group of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Oh, about two or three years. There had been many changes of clubs. I mean, from 1945 to 1956, there were many changes in clubs; this last one, I would say two or three years.

Mr. TAVENNER. You witnessed the activities of the Communist Party on up through the period of the Korean War?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the principal objective of the Communist Party here in Los Angeles, would you say, in the latter days of your membership, 1955 and 1956, do you recall that?



Mrs. CLINGER. I will make it very short, pro-Soviet and anti-American.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons were members of your group at that time?

Mrs. CLINGER. In my particular club?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. CLINGER. This had gotten down to about maybe eight people, seven or eight people. This was done for security reasons; this was the reason for keeping the clubs very small.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of those you can recall who were members of that group of the Communist Party, your last group?

Mrs. CLINGER. Of the last group, of course, I was aware that there were people that had been in my group that had gone into another club, and so forth. In the last group, Elaine Drummond, Gil Drummond, Terry Goldberg. There was Terry's husband, who at times attended our meetings. Now, this was Murray Goldberg. He belonged to a professional group someplace else—known as a professional group—but at times he did come into our group too, particularly if there was any extra activity or to direct us in anything where his help was needed, for instance, leaflet writing, which he was very good at. At times we did meet in his home, and he was usually there when we met in his home..

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you spoke of preparing leaflets. Did the Communist Party have access to printing equipment?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes. At one time Elaine Drummond made the announcement that the county—meaning the county headquarters of the Communist Party—had furnished a mimeograph machine for our area; that this machine would be kept in one place, or it would be necessary to be moved. This was what we used for duplication purposes. And they were very quiet, I mean, you didn't discuss, in fact, you were not supposed to discuss, where this duplication was being done, and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. And that is because it was in violation of Federal law for the Communist Party to be in possession of such a duplicating machine without having it registered.

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, there were two places that I know of. I know, it was moved one time; one time it was kept in the home of Harper Poulson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where it is now?

Mrs. CLINGER. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where it was in 1956 when you left the party?

Mrs. CLINGER. No, not right at that time. It was also, at one time, kept in Rosalind Lindesmith's home.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that name?

Mrs. CLINGER. Rosalind Lindesmith's home.

And those are the two places that I saw the machine; I had occasion to.

Mr. JACKSON. Was Mrs. Lindesmith known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, she was in this later group.



Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Goldberg who belonged to the professional group, what was his profession?

Mrs. CLINGER. A dentist.

Mr. JACKSON. A dentist?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I interrupted you in your statement of identification of persons who were members of the Communist Party to your personal knowledge, when you left it in 1956.

Mrs. CLINGER. I don't know who I talked about.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have mentioned Gilbert Drummond, Elaine Drummond, Terry Goldberg.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have a list of the names?

Mrs. CLINGER. These are some others. No, not in this period, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Elizabeth Fletcher a member of the group?

Mrs. CLINGER. She had moved. She had been earlier, just a very short time before that, yes; but it was my understanding that she had moved from Santa Monica right at the time I left. These were not members of my club at the time that I left, but were still members in another club. I mean, I had been associated with them previously and I knew that they had gone into other clubs. There were other people, but you are limiting me just to my club, and at that time we had broken down to where there were only just a few people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, I understand.

Mrs. CLINGER. To six, seven people, something like that. There were other people that had gone into other clubs to keep these units small. There was a Joe Sniderman, who was in another club. There was also his wife, Elaine, and there was—

Mr. JACKSON. Elaine Sniderman?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes. Not at this late a period—

Mr. MOULDER. This committee will stand in recess for a period of five or ten minutes.

If you can think of those names and write them down and submit them to the committee, we will appreciate that.

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

(Short recess taken.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Clinger, I was asking you to identify the names of persons that you knew were members of the Communist Party when you left it in 1956. You gave us a number of names of those who were in your group, which by that time had been broken down to seven or eight members. Now, I would like you to identify other persons who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party and, in doing so, to indicate the period of time in which you knew they were members, and any other identifying information you can give in regard to them as to their activities, keeping in mind that I only want the names of persons known to you personally to have been members of the Communist Party. I think that fully states the question.

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, at various times from late in 1945—I believe from 1945 to 1948, approximately—there was a Susan Brown, who lived in Santa Monica. She was an artist. Elizabeth Fletcher, who

I named before. At one time she headed a cooperative nursery, pre-school nursery in the Bay area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is this to whom you refer?

Mrs. CLINGER. Elizabeth Fletcher. Elaine Sniderman and her husband, Joe Sniderman. He was a grocery man. Gertrude Avers and her husband, Aaron Avers. She was a housewife, and he was a sign painter at that time. Adaline Fogg.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that last name?

Mrs. CLINGER. F-o-g-g, who was an art teacher in a private school. I believe now she has an art school of her own in West Los Angeles.

There was a Berkeley Tobey, who was a writer and a representative for some publisher, I don't know who.

There was Lennie—

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell Tobey?

Mrs. CLINGER. T-o-b-e-y. And a Lennie Ludel.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell that last name?

Mrs. CLINGER. L-u-d-e-l. He was a diamond cutter at that time. Charles Cormack, I believe, C-o-r-m-a-c-k, and his wife Teresa. He was a student part of the time that I knew him, and then later he was a reader for some studio.

And there was a Ron Scharf, who was a student, and his wife, who was a social service worker in Los Angeles some place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you there. How did you know these persons to be members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Because they were members of the same clubs. Now, this covers a period of time of different reorganization and different clubs. And all these people I sat in closed meetings with.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by closed meetings?

Mrs. CLINGER. Meetings where only members of the Communist Party were present.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mrs. CLINGER. There was a Noah and Henrietta Bowers, who owned a pet shop in Santa Monica at one time.

I have already testified to Ben Olson and his wife Dorothy Olson, and Silvia Richards. At a later period there is Bill McLaughlin. He was a chairman at one time of a group that I was in, and his wife Goldie. He was in the building trades, I believe.

There was a Charles Ellis, and his wife Shirley. Joe Sniderman and his wife Elaine. There was a Bob Blumenkranz.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that name, please?

Mrs. CLINGER. B-l-u-m-e-n-k-r-a-n-z. I knew him as Bob Blumenkranz. I believe also, I know I heard his wife and other people say Walter, and his wife Harriet.

Mr. JACKSON. What was his occupation?

Mrs. CLINGER. He was in the building trades at that time, I am sure, because I happen to know of one job he was doing.

Jim McGowan and his wife Lucille. Jim worked for a concern that made bricks and tile.

Marlowe Booth. He was a sheetmetal man, I believe.

Also Sol Rosenberg, who was not a member of any club that I belonged to, but who did come in an official capacity some way from the section. He attended two or three meetings that I attended, closed meetings. He was the husband of Rose Rosenberg, the attorney.

Mr. MOULDER. Any other questions, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not sure whether she has completed her answer or not.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Regarding the party that was given to raise the funds, you mentioned a Mr. Lipton. Was he a member of the Communist Party at the time you left the party?

Mrs. CLINGER. This I do not know.

Mr. JACKSON. What was his occupation? Did he have an occupation?

Mrs. CLINGER. He was a writer.

Mr. JACKSON. A writer?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know what he is doing presently?

Mrs. CLINGER. A writer. And as a profession I would say he is still a writer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall a person by the name of Adele Allen?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes. She was also a member of one of the clubs that I belonged to, and her husband also, Van Allen. I think his name was Booker Van Allen, but he was known better as just plain Van Allen. And, a Mike Kessler.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, going back to the Allens, do you know whether one of them occupied any position or office in the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes. Adele did. I am trying to think exactly what, but she was at a section level one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. At what period of time was it that you knew her to be a member of the Communist Party, as nearly as you can tell us?

Mrs. CLINGER. 1950, 1951, on to the time I left, 1956.

Mr. TAVENNER. You then gave us another name that I didn't understand.

Mrs. CLINGER. Mike Kessler.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mike Kessler?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. K-e-s-s-l-e-r?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall a person by the name of Jack Burstein?

Mrs. CLINGER. Oh, yes. He was also in one of the clubs that I belonged to at various times. And there was also a Lona Wells, who was very active in various clubs that I was in, and she, too, finally became active up, at least, into the section area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Jerry Tannenbaum?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, I knew him. He was not in any of the clubs that I belonged to, but he did come into closed meetings at various times as a section official.

Mr. MOULDER. Would you give us a brief description of what you mean by section?

Mrs. CLINGER. At that time there was a club basis, and then section; there were some people, certain people who were responsible for all of these clubs. There were so many clubs in a section, and there were certain people who were responsible for certain duties covering the activity of the combined clubs. These were section officials.



Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any other names that occur to you at the present time who were members at the time you left the Communist Party in 1956?

Mrs. CLINGER. Not at the moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. If later the names of others occur to you, will you advise Mr. Wheeler, the investigator for the committee?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee now the circumstances under which you left the Communist Party, what occurred?

Mrs. CLINGER. I made the decision to withdraw from the work as an undercover agent for the F.B.I. due to personal reasons, namely, my health and family. I wanted to withdraw from the party in a graceful way, and the time in 1956 when I did this seemed to be very opportune. So, when Elaine Drummond came to my home to reregister me, I informed her that I was not going to reregister, that I was leaving the Communist Party. This took her back quite a bit, and she thought that maybe if someone would come and talk to me that I might change my mind. She knew that I hadn't been well, and maybe I would reconsider. I told her that this was not true, that I was leaving. And she made the statement that, "Well, certainly anyone that has been as active in the party and for as many years, you could not besmirch the ideals of the Communist Party, surely you would still continue to fight for the things that the Communist Party believes in and support them financially, if not physically, at this time."

I told her that I was not going to support anything. And she said that she felt that perhaps the best thing, if I took a rest, maybe I would reconsider my decision. And I assured her I would not. And so, this is the way I left the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, it appears then that although you were severing your connection as a member of the Communist Party, they were asking you to continue in your activity in the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct. I mean, that I would at least support them financially and, possibly later when I felt better, to do other things.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were expected to be affiliated with the Communist Party although not actually a member in the legal sense?

Mrs. CLINGER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, that is one problem this committee is studying. Section 5 of the Communist Control Act of 1954 enumerates about fourteen different matters which the courts and the juries should take into consideration in determining whether or not a person is a member of the Communist Party. It seems now that because of the device which has been used in your case to attempt to get you to remain affiliated, although actually not a member, this has to be dealt with in some manner by Congress. Have you any suggestions in mind as to what may be of help?

Mr. MOULDER. Can you answer the question?

Mrs. CLINGER. No. Not at this moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Now, when you were talking about supporting, continuing to support, the Communist Party, although not a member, I assume that meant continuance of your support in various front organizations. What were the front organizations of the Com-



munist Party, at the time you withdrew, that the party was particularly interested in, or name some of the fronts during your period of membership from 1950 which were deemed sufficiently important to cause concentration of Communist activity.

Mrs. CLINGER. There are many organizations. I would not say they were fronts; they are certainly not fronts, but organizations that members of the Communist Party went into to use their influence as much as possible, such as even the P.T.A. I mean, these organizations which many of the housewives, particularly with children, were urged to take, even the P.T.A. and, as I mentioned before, the churches, youth organizations, and major political parties certainly. And, at the time that I left there was a great drive on going into a major political party to use the influence there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about the Rosenberg Defense Committee, do you recall any particular activity in that group?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes. That was back a period. This, of course, was a money—I mean, at every meeting at this period, we were asked to contact more people; there were petitions; and every time you got somebody to sign a petition to get money from them for the Rosenbergs. And there is something that I would like to say on the matter of petitions, if I may.

The petitions are used in the Communist Party in any cause that they may have; there is always a petition. And they go out on the streets, any place, to get signatures, regardless of what name they may be using or what is on the petition. These petitions are brought back to the Communist Party, and the names are copied off, because it is felt that anybody that would sign this petition is certainly sympathetic to a degree. Maybe they didn't know what they were signing, but the party goes on the assumption that they are sympathetic. And these names are kept for future use for mailing out leaflets of propaganda, or the possibility of collecting money for some other cause. If a person signed one petition, they certainly would support something else. And this is true with every petition, even those that were used on the I.P.P. So, they do have quite a long list of names that can be used over and over.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the Independent Progressive Party one of the groups that was the object of infiltration by the Communist Party?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes. I can remember at this particular time when this was being set up, and certainly in our area it was the clubs who got the first petitions and started getting them out, and not only to the membership, but many of them were taken and given to other people to get these petitions filled. These petitions were brought back into the club.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about the support of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes, certainly this was supported, and a great deal of discussion on it. And whenever any cases came up, there were other clubs in other areas that—when I say other areas, I still mean in the Bay area—seemed to concentrate particularly on this organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the Communist Party here, your groups of the Communist Party, engage in the Stockholm peace crusade around 1949 and 1950?

Mrs. CLINGER. Yes. There were petitions given out, for ourselves and then to give to other people if we could find someone that would take them; and, whenever you gave them to anybody, they were to return them to you, and you yourself would bring them back to the club meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the position of the Communist Party here on the Korean War?

Mrs. CLINGER. Well, here again strictly pro-Soviet and anti-American, I mean, fighting the idea of sending any troops to Korea, upholding the North Korean stand completely, and a great deal of criticism on our Government stand.

Mr. TAVENNER. What action was taken in this area with regard to undercover activities of the Communist Party after the beginning of the Smith Act trials? Were people assigned to the underground or put underground in this area after the Smith Act trials?

Mrs. CLINGER. There was one case that I knew. It was someone that I knew quite well, it was Merle Brodsky who was forced to go underground, as we were told, leaving the community, leaving his wife and family. And money was taken up, and there was a great deal of effort, and we were told that Merle was making this sacrifice for the party and it was up to us to contribute to his family in this emergency, and we all did. I mean, people gave different amounts of money at different times, so that his family would be taken care of, so that he could continue his work as an underground agent.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to thank the witness, Mrs. Clinger, for her contribution to these hearings. And realizing the extent of the sacrifice which attaches to entry into the party under the circumstances in which you did, I would like to express my appreciation, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. I join with Mr. Jackson in that statement. We appreciate deeply your cooperation with the committee and also commend you for your patriotic and loyal work which you have done for your country.

You are excused as a witness, and you may claim your witness fees from the clerk of the committee.

Mrs. CLINGER. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. William Rubin, will you come forward, please?

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RUBIN. I do.

Mr. MOULDER. All right, proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM RUBIN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
WILLIAM P. GRAY

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. William Rubin?

Mr. RUBIN. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel accompanying the witness please identify himself for the record?

Mr. GRAY. Yes, my name is William P. Gray, attorney in Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where and when were you born, Mr. Rubin?

Mr. RUBIN. In New York City, 1918.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. RUBIN. Santa Monica, 2512 Washington Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Santa Monica?

Mr. RUBIN. Approximately 4 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. RUBIN. I am a mechanical engineer and designer.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your formal educational training?

Mr. RUBIN. Graduated from New York City High School, and attended Pennsylvania State University for 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What occupations have you followed prior to your architectural engineering, did I understand you to say?

Mr. RUBIN. No, mechanical engineering. I have been a draftsman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Any other occupation?

Mr. RUBIN. For a very short time, watchmaker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Any other?

Mr. RUBIN. Nothing that I can readily recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party, organizationally speaking?

Mr. RUBIN. I decline to answer on the authority of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was hoping that you would answer that question because I was convinced from information that the committee has that you are not now a member of the Communist Party organizationally speaking. Won't you reconsider and advise this committee whether or not you are at this time a dues-paying member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RUBIN. I have given my answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you want to stick by that?

Mr. RUBIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1958 were you a member of the Western Section of the Southern California District of the Communist Party?

Mr. RUBIN. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have been studying here, Mr. Rubin, and the committee will continue its study of the possibility of revising the definition of Communist Party membership as contained in section 4 of the Communist Control Act of 1954, possibly enlarging upon the fourteen items indicating Communist Party membership as outlined in section 5 of that act, and possibly adding to the provisions of the act, affiliation with the Communist Party as distinguished from membership.

Now, have you been approached at any time, or have you had a discussion at any time with Communist Party leaders of a plan by which you would discontinue your membership in the Communist Party, but you would continue your support of the Communist Party although not being an actual member?

Mr. RUBIN. The same answer, I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You heard the testimony of the former witness, you were in the room, were you not?

Mr. RUBIN. A very little while.



Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear her describe the proposal that was made to her that although she should withdraw from the Communist Party as a member, she should nevertheless continue her support of it financially, as well as engaging in other activities. Did you hear that?

Mr. RUBIN. Yes; I heard that part.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any other instances in which that type of a plan has been carried out in the Communist Party?

Mr. RUBIN. Again I decline to answer that question, too, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I am a little confused here. Did you ask him as to his past or present membership?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I asked about his membership now, his membership in 1958. I did not go back earlier than that.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you ever, sir, been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RUBIN. The same answer. I decline to answer that question, too, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you entered into any plan with the Communist Party by which you would be considered a member, although you were not required to attend meetings?

Mr. RUBIN. Again I decline to answer this one, too, on the same basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. What is the nature of your employment?

Mr. RUBIN. I am employed by the L.A. School District.

Mr. JACKSON. As a mechanical—

Mr. RUBIN. Mechanical engineer and designer.

Mr. JACKSON. How long have you held that employment?

Mr. RUBIN. Slightly more than 6 months.

Mr. JACKSON. At any time have you been the subject of inquiry of this sort into any alleged activity in the Communist Party?

Mr. RUBIN. By whom?

Mr. JACKSON. By anyone, by the school authorities, let's say?

Mr. RUBIN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. JACKSON. When you accepted your present employment, did you sign any affidavit or make any statement relative to membership or nonmembership in the Communist Party?

Mr. RUBIN. I decline to answer this question, too, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, if you did sign such a statement, was it a true statement at the time you signed it?

Mr. RUBIN. Again, same answer.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. You are excused as a witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ralph Hall.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HALL. I do.



## TESTIMONY OF RALPH HALL, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, BEN MARGOLIS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. HALL. My name is Ralph Hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel accompanying the witness please identify himself for the record?

Mr. MARGOLIS. My name is Ben Margolis, 112 West Ninth Street, Los Angeles.

I wonder if you would mind waiting until they finish with the photographs?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. When and where were you born, Mr. Hall?

Mr. HALL. I was born in Corpus Christi, Tex. Do you want the date?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. HALL. July 12, 1915.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. HALL. I reside in Venice.

Mr. TAVENNER. Venice, California?

Mr. HALL. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you resided there?

Mr. HALL. Approximately 5 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where did you reside?

Mr. HALL. I resided in many places.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, the place immediately prior to your moving to Venice?

Mr. HALL. Well, Counsel, I think like many Americans I have lived in many places, worked at many things, and I don't see that this is pertinent to what this committee is trying to determine, therefore, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, as the name of the witness is not an uncommon name, it is quite possible that there are a great many people by the same name in southern California. I think as a matter of proper identification these questions are pertinent and important, and I ask direction of the Chair that the witness be required to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. HALL. I decline on the basis of the rights guaranteed to me under the first amendment and fifth amendment to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is your refusal to answer due to the fact that you were assigned to the underground by the Communist Party of Washington State?

Mr. HALL. I decline to answer that on the basis of the previous statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Actually, you have been underground since approximately 1950, prior to which time you were a functionary of the Communist Party in the State of Washington; isn't that correct?

Mr. HALL. I decline to answer on the previous statement, previous reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Barbara Hartle in Seattle?

Mr. HALL. Counsel, let's don't kid each other, I am not going to—

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not kidding anybody, I am asking you a serious question.

Mr. HALL. I decline to answer on the grounds that I previously stated.

Mr. MOULDER. You might explain to the witness who this person is you are referring to so it might aid him in recalling whether he is acquainted with her or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think the witness knows who she is. I think the record should disclose that Barbara Hartle was one of the Smith Act defendants prosecuted and convicted, and who served time, I believe, as the number two Communist in the State of Washington. She testified fully before this committee regarding all of her activities within the Communist Party, including her being assigned to the underground along with a person by the name of Ralph Hall.

Mr. MOULDER. What did you say she was convicted of, Mr. TAVENNER?

Mr. TAVENNER. Under the Smith Act. Convicted on the charge of teaching communism.

Mr. MOULDER. Conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force and violence?

Mr. TAVENNER. Correct. Mrs. Hartle testified:

I was furnished with \$200.00 by Henry Huff when I left Seattle and some small sums after that; but I went to work—I did various kinds of work, mostly as cook and waitress, and earned my own living.

Question. While you were underground, did you pay dues to the Communist Party?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. This committee of three that you mentioned, how often did this group meet?

Answer. The group was only two, at first—Ralph Hall and myself; and we met about once a week and later, as we went farther away and became more separated in point of living, about once in 2 weeks; and it could vary—there might be 3 weeks for some reason that we didn't get together.

Was Mrs. Hartle correct in identifying you as a member of the underground group with her in the State of Washington?

Mr. HALL. Counsel, there is an old saying that some things you wouldn't touch with a 10-foot pole.

Generally speaking, stool pigeons and informers are of that character, that no one would touch them with a, even a 20-foot pole, and I decline to answer on the basis of the grounds that I have previously stated.

Mr. JACKSON. That is one of the most adequate answers we have gotten from anybody today, I might add.

Mr. HALL. That is your opinion, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, indeed. If I needed any conviction as to whether or not you were the Ralph Hall, and I tried to clarify this earlier, there is no further doubt in my mind but that you are the Ralph Hall referred to by Mrs. Hartle.

Mr. MOULDER. You are now being given an opportunity to deny the testimony which has been quoted to you by counsel; do you wish to deny it?

Mr. HALL. I don't understand your question, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. It has often been said by some witnesses that they are accused before this committee and never given an opportunity to deny or affirm or explain. You are now being given that opportunity.

Do you wish to deny the testimony that has been read to you by Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. HALL. Well, sir, I think I indicated a few minutes ago that when it comes to stool pigeons, I have nothing—

Mr. MOULDER. What is a stool pigeon?

Mr. HALL. I have nothing to do with them. I will not dignify them by either denying or confirming their slander and their smears and their charges, and certainly I do not consider a hearing like this an opportunity to prove one's guilt or one's innocence. I simply will not take any part in either denying or confirming the slander and the accusation.

Mr. MOULDER. You referred to a stool pigeon. Isn't a stool pigeon referred to usually as a person who truthfully reveals the facts with a fellow conspirator or fellow criminal?

Mr. HALL. Are you asking me for my opinion as to what a stool pigeon is?

Mr. MOULDER. That is what is usually referred to as a stool pigeon, and that is what you called this person.

Mr. HALL. I am asking you, are you asking my opinion of what a stool pigeon is?

Mr. MOULDER. No, you have evaded—

Mr. HALL. Are you giving me your opinion?

Mr. MOULDER. I have given you my opinion.

Mr. HALL. But you are not asking me what my opinion is?

Mr. MOULDER. No.

Mr. HALL. OK.

Mr. MOULDER. The facts are very apparent. Any other questions, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Philip Ceis in Seattle?

Mr. HALL. I decline to answer on the previous grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that because you consider he was also a stool pigeon?

Mr. HALL. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, he identified you in hearings in Seattle as a member of the Communist Party, as did also several other people, including Leonard Wildman; do you recall Leonard Wildman?

Mr. HALL. I decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you say that all of these people are unworthy of belief, and you just ignore them, and you won't dignify them with a rebuttal of any kind?

Mr. HALL. I think I stated very clearly my position.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think you have, too.

Are you now chairman of the Communist Party at Venice, Calif.?

Mr. HALL. I decline to answer on the same grounds that I have given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before you went underground you were a part-time employee of the People's World, weren't you, say in 1949?

Mr. HALL. Well, as I have stated before, I feel that this committee is out to further intimidate and wage cold war on the rights of the people, and I will not be a participant in such a project, and I decline to answer for the reasons that I have stated previously.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have a copy of the February 24, 1949, issue of the People's World, in which it refers to you as the Northwest Washington circulation director of that paper. Would you classify that publication also as a stool pigeon?

Mr. HALL. I decline to answer on the basis I have previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Were you known by the name of Carl Swanson in the Communist Party?

Mr. HALL. I decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you attempt to conceal your real identity by the use of that pseudonym?

Mr. HALL. I decline on the basis of the previous reasons given.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of activity—

Mr. HALL. Pardon me, just a second.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. What is your present occupation?

Mr. HALL. I am a machine operator.

Mr. TAVENNER. Employed by whom?

Mr. HALL. What are you trying to do, blacklist me, get me fired?

Mr. TAVENNER. May I have a direction to the witness to answer the question?

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer. What we want to try to find out is whether or not you are engaged and working in what we would refer to as a sensitive or essential work in connection with the defense program.

Mr. HALL. I am working in a shop that is totally nondefense.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the name of that shop? Maybe we can be the judge of that.

Mr. HALL. I refuse on the grounds that it is not pertinent.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I have a direction?

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer.

Mr. HALL. May I ask what the purpose of it is? Are you trying to get me fired? Are you trying to get me blacklisted from my job?

Mr. MOULDER. Of course not.

Mr. HALL. Well then, what is the purpose, I would like you to explain to me?

Mr. JACKSON. I have a purpose, Mr. Chairman. I repeat that the name Ralph Hall is not an unusual name. There may be several hundred of them in the Los Angeles area. The question is perfectly proper as an essential means of proper identification of the witness; to find out how he is employed and where, and I ask for the direction that the witness be required to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is again directed to answer.

Mr. HALL. All right. Through my counsel I am asking you if you will accept this information off the record under oath?

Mr. JACKSON. I have no objection.

Mr. HALL. So I won't be blacklisted.

Mr. MOULDER. Yes. What do you mean by off the record; you mean you don't want it in this record?

Mr. HALL. I don't want it to be publicized.

Mr. MOULDER. I see. Just write it down, and hand it to counsel as suggested by Mr. Jackson.

Mr. HALL. OK.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Any questions?



Mr. JACKSON. I have no questions.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Adele Allen.

Mr. MOULDER. Will you be sworn as a witness, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. ALLEN. I do.

Is my attorney, Mr. Wirin, here? He said that if he isn't in the room—

Mr. MOULDER. You are represented by counsel?

Mrs. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. We will wait until your attorney comes.

Mrs. ALLEN. All right.

Mr. TAVENNER. The witness may stand aside.

Dr. Murray Goldberg.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. GOLDBERG. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF DR. MURRAY GOLDBERG, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LEO FENSTER

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Dr. Murray Goldberg?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Yes, I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel accompanying the witness please identify himself for the record?

Mr. FENSTER. For the purpose of the record, Dr. Murray Goldberg is being represented by Leo Fenster, F-e-n-s-t-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Doctor?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Salt Lake City, Utah, 1918.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Los Angeles County.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Dr. GOLDBERG. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood that you were a doctor; you mean to give an honest answer to the question of what your profession is would tend to incriminate you?

Dr. GOLDBERG. I believe so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a dentist?

Dr. GOLDBERG. I decline to answer on the grounds of—the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. How could the practice of the profession of dentistry incriminate you?

Mr. FENSTER. Also, I don't want to argue about that, he is not supposed to adjudicate how that is to be, that is my job.

Mr. JACKSON. That is the job of the courts, if it becomes necessary.

Mr. FENSTER. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I cannot conceive how in good faith any witness can decline to state what his profession is, and contend that he stands in real fear of prosecution on a criminal charge by

reason of stating his profession. I ask that it be made very clear in the record, and that the witness be directed to state his profession, unless, of course, it is bank robber, or something of the sort whereby he can in good faith invoke his constitutional rights.

Mr. MOULDER. I agree with my colleague member of the committee. You are directed to answer the question, and in connection with that direction I wish to say that by your failure and refusal to answer you may be subjecting yourself to being in contempt of the Congress. I don't make that statement as a threat, but in order that you might be advised. And the question was asked you a moment ago as to whether or not you would be subject to prosecution, criminal prosecution, as testing your good faith. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. FENSTER. If I may indicate to the chairman of the committee that Dr. Goldberg has no objection going off the record, if this is of any value.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, in the regular order, the witness has been directed to answer the question. He has counsel, he has every right to confer with counsel and arrive at his own decision. Counsel is not in a position to debate the matter with the committee. He can advise his client, his client may accept that advice if he sees fit. However, in light of the direction, I think the only question now is whether or not the witness will continue in his refusal to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. That is correct.

Dr. GOLDBERG. Well, only in the sense that it be off the record. I would answer the question off the record.

Mr. MOULDER. You are directed to answer the question.

Dr. GOLDBERG. Please repeat the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't hear the answer.

Mr. MOULDER. He asked that the question be repeated.

Mr. TAVENNER. As to his profession?

Will you repeat the question?

(The question was read.)

Dr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you practice your profession?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Within the county of Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged in the practice of your profession, in what county, Los Angeles County?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Los Angeles. About 5 or 6 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live in Los Angeles County?

Mr. FENSTER. I would respectfully request of counsel and the chairman of the committee for an indication on the part of the committee as to the legislative purpose of asking that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will be glad to explain it, Mr. Chairman. I thought it was quite obvious.

The committee resolution states that this hearing is in part for the purpose of inquiring into Communist Party activities within the Western Section of this Southern California District of the Communist Party.

Now, I am trying to see if this witness lives within the Western Section also called the Bay Cities Section, and I think the reason is quite apparent that we want to locate him geographically so as to be

able to know what his opportunities are for knowledge of Communist Party activities in that area.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, augmenting that, I am informed that there is at least one more Dr. Murray Goldberg in the Los Angeles area. I think it is of equal importance that we determine where this witness has his residence in order that there may be absolutely no chance of any confusion on that score.

Mr. FENSTER. Dr. Goldberg raises the question, and it is conceivable—

Mr. MOULDER. Let the witness speak.

Mr. FENSTER. He is confused; as his counsel I believe I have the right to ask.

Mr. MOULDER. You can advise your client whatever you wish.

Mr. FENSTER. He doesn't know whether the counsel is attempting to correlate the purported Western Section of the Communist Party to his residence. If he will restate his question and ask him if he lives in the Bay Area or the Bay District, this may be helpful to the witness.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you wish to rephrase your question?

Mr. TAVENNER. If it isn't perfectly clear, I will restate what I understand was the question.

Mr. FENSTER. Thank you, Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live?

Dr. GOLDBERG. In the Bay Area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where, what address, that is a very general area.

Dr. GOLDBERG. 1240 Yale Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yale Street, what city?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Santa Monica.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, it has been a long time finding that out. Where do you maintain your office?

Mr. FENSTER. May I indicate that—

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this is about the fifth time that counsel has interrupted and violated the rule of the committee, and I think there ought to be some limit to it.

Mr. MOULDER. The rules of the committee do not permit counsel to argue or—

Mr. FENSTER. I am not attempting to argue with you, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Or make any formal motions or—

Mr. FENSTER. We are not making any motions, we are making an offer of proof that he be willing to give his address off the record. He has been placed in a position by this committee—

Mr. MOULDER. You so advise him, if you wish. You can confer with your client.

Mr. FENSTER. I am making an offer of proof.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Dr. GOLDBERG. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I have a direction that he answer?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, with all deference, and I insisted on what I consider to be adequate identification so far as his profession was concerned, and also his address, to the end that there might be no possible confusion with another doctor with the same name. I myself do not see the purpose of asking for the address of his office.

Mr. MOULDER. He has invoked the fifth amendment in response to that question, as I understand.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Is that the case?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Goldberg, have you at any time been a member of a professional section of the Communist Party in the Los Angeles area?

Dr. GOLDBERG. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you engaged in the printing of Communist Party literature or publications for a group of the Communist Party with the use of printing equipment owned by the Communist Party?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Same answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended closed Communist Party meetings with Mrs. Moisselle Clinger?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Same answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present during her testimony a few moments ago?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear her identify you as having attended meetings of her group of the Communist Party, although you were not a member of that group, did you hear that?

Dr. GOLDBERG. I did hear that part.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she correct in her testimony insofar as it affected you?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Communist Party now?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Decline to answer.

Mr. JACKSON. The last declination on the same grounds?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Same grounds, yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had any assignment by the Communist Party to engage in Communist Party activities within any mass organizations?

Dr. GOLDBERG. Decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Any questions?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Mr. Wirin here now?

(No response.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Gilbert Drummond.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I do.



TESTIMONY OF GILBERT DRUMMOND, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
LEO FENSTER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please, sir?

Mr. DRUMMOND. Gilbert Drummond.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel accompanying the witness please identify himself for the record?

Mr. FENSTER. For the record, Gilbert Drummond is being represented by Leo Fenster, F-e-n-s-t-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where and when were you born, Mr. Drummond?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I was born in St. Louis, Missouri, September 29, 1921.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. DRUMMOND. Los Angeles County.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Los Angeles County?

Mr. DRUMMOND. Sixteen or seventeen years.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said you lived in Los Angeles County, to be more specific, do you live in San Pedro?

Mr. DRUMMOND. No, well, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What?

Mr. DRUMMOND. Yes, it is all right. Yes, I live—it is not San Pedro, but it is near there. It is in the vicinity.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is your mailing address?

Mr. DRUMMOND. Yes. We have just changed the mailing address, that is why I hesitated.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first come to California to make it your place of residence?

Mr. DRUMMOND. 1942, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I am a certified public accountant.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged as a certified public accountant?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I started my practice November 15, 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. DRUMMOND. The high school and college training required to pass the C.P.A. exam.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you take your college work?

Mr. DRUMMOND. In Missouri, St. Louis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever received assignments by Communist Party groups to work in certain mass organizations by joining them and supporting their objectives?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I decline to answer that on the basis of the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Clinger has testified here today under oath that you were assigned by the Communist Party to engage in work within certain minority groups; was she telling the truth about that?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I decline to answer, same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, have you worked for minority groups at the instance of the Communist Party?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever assigned by the Communist Party to become active in the Independent Progressive Party?

Mr. DRUMMOND. Decline for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of Appointment of Members of the State Central Committee for the Year 1952 of the Independent Progressive Party, in which you are named as one of three members of the State Central Committee to meet at Sacramento, August 3, 1952. Will you examine it, please, and state whether or not you occupied that position?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I decline to answer on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence, and ask that it be marked as "Drummond Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. MOULDER. The document will be marked "Exhibit 1," and it will be admitted into evidence.

(Document marked "Drummond Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you circulate a petition for the Independent Progressive Party of California as indicated by your signature in affidavit form to the paper which I now hand you?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that your signature to the affidavit?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. DRUMMOND. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the document in evidence, and ask it be marked "Drummond Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. MOULDER. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Drummond Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you affiliated with the Los Angeles Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I decline to answer for the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of the committee's investigation it has been ascertained that you attended on January 5 and 6, 1957, the Los Angeles County Convention of the Communist Party; did you attend that meeting?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Clinger has identified you as an active member of Communist Party groups with which she was attached; was she correct in her identification?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DRUMMOND. I decline to answer, same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Witness excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Harriet Blumenkranz; will you come forward, please, Mrs. Blumenkranz?

Mr. WHEELER. We put her over until tomorrow morning. I guess that is all we have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Adele Allen, may I ask you whether your counsel has returned?

Mrs. ALLEN. I don't see him. Will someone go out and see if they can find him again, so I won't have to come back another day?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry, I didn't hear you.

Mrs. ALLEN. Would it be all right to go out and find him so I won't have to come back another day?

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will stand in recess for a period of ten minutes.

Mrs. ALLEN. Thank you very much.

(Short recess taken.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Call the next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Adele Allen.

Mr. MOULDER. I believe you were sworn as a witness, but we will do it again.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. ALLEN. I do.

Mr. WIRIN. I apologize for my not being here. I had a matter with the Judge, but I am back here now.

Mr. MOULDER. We understand.

TESTIMONY OF ADELE ALLEN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
A. L. WIRIN—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name?

Mrs. ALLEN. Adele Allen.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell both names?

Mrs. ALLEN. A-d-e-l-e A-l-l-e-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel accompanying the witness please identify himself for the record?

Mr. WIRIN. My name is A. L. Wirin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you Miss or Mrs. Allen?

Mrs. ALLEN. Mrs. Allen.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the state of your birth?

Mrs. ALLEN. Pennsylvania.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mrs. ALLEN. Venice, California.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you resided in Venice?

Mrs. ALLEN. About four years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ALLEN. I decline to answer on the grounds afforded to me by the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mrs. Moisselle Clinger?

Mrs. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear her testimony here this afternoon?

Mr. WIRIN. Mr. Chairman, the witness answered before I had a chance to consult with her. May I consult with her with respect to the answer that she made to the former question?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes.

Mr. WIRIN. May she withdraw the answer to the question so I may consult with her and advise her?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes, she can withdraw.

Mr. TAVENNER. However, the record should show that she answered it, and what the answer was.

Mr. WIRIN. Of course, the record will clearly show what it shows.

Mrs. ALLEN. I would like to withdraw that answer, and take the first and fifth amendments in response to the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. What question?

Mrs. ALLEN. To the question that you put with regard to whether or not I knew this woman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Knew what woman?

Mrs. ALLEN. Mrs. Clinger.

Mr. TAVENNER. I object to withdrawal of the answer.

Mr. WIRIN. Well, I understood the chairman was good enough to permit us to do so, it happens often.

Mr. MOULDER. Permission has been granted to the witness to withdraw her answer.

Mrs. ALLEN. Thank you.

Mr. MOULDER. And she has invoked the first and fifth amendments as her response to the question.

Mrs. ALLEN. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. I would suggest the witness be a little more careful about her answers, though.

Mr. WIRIN. Glad to see Mr. Tavenner overruled. I think this is the first time I have seen it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have been overruled often.

Mr. WIRIN. The first time I have seen it.

Mr. JACKSON. It doesn't happen very often.

Mr. WIRIN. He is right more often than not.

Mr. TAVENNER. You heard her testimony here this morning, and this afternoon, did you not?

Mrs. ALLEN. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let me advise you that regardless of your refusal to answer, she did in fact identify you as a person who had been in closed Communist Party meetings with her. So I want to ask you the question, was she testifying truthfully in regard to that?

Mrs. ALLEN. I decline to answer that question on the grounds afforded me by the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend closed Communist Party meetings with Mrs. Moislle Clinger?

Mrs. ALLEN. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. WIRIN. Excuse me, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has received information through the report of Dorothy Healey as to the situation of the Communist Party with regard to its youth projects, and we are trying to understand just what the Communist Party is doing, or plans to do within youth organizations.

Have you at any time been engaged in youth organizational work for the Communist Party?

Mrs. ALLEN. I decline to answer that question based on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the current plan of the Communist Party with regard to work within youth organizations?

Mrs. ALLEN. Same answer for the same reasons.



Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Communist Party now?

Mrs. ALLEN. Same answer for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Any questions?

Mr. JACKSON. No.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

Mr. WIRIN. Thank you. It was a very short trip.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will recess until 10 o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:40 p.m., Tuesday, October 20, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, October 21, 1959.)

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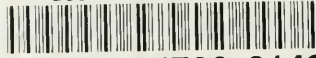








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